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NATIONAL REVIEW

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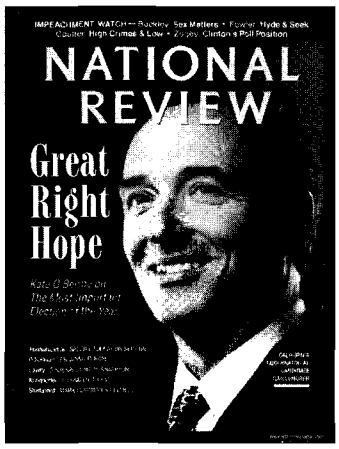

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LETTERS

Labor Problems

Michael Lynch ["Protection Racket," June 22] points to the intractability of labor unions' political privileges. These organizations have large, guaranteed revenue streams, and they pursue politics relentlessly. To stop their abuses will take much doing. Here are some problems to add to the ones Mr. Lynch identifies.

California's Proposition 226, though badly drafted in several respects, was pretty clear about its main idea. It sought to correct the failure to enforce the Supreme Court's *Beck* decision by transferring the onus from the workers to the unions: no political expenditures without a signature. The trouble with this is that it requires a definition of "political." The original *Beck* decision has an advantage over the approach of 226. Rather than forbid "political" expenditures, it simply exempts any worker who leaves the union from paying costs not essential to collective bargaining.

Mr. Lynch has some good quotes from people in Washington State about union political activities continuing despite the passage of paycheck-protection laws there. Whether union political activity continues unabated is a difficult question to answer. The best guess, however, is that it does not. If paycheck protection were not inconvenient to the unions, they would not have spent $30 million defeating 226.

Lynch's main solution is the proper one: adopt a "right to work" policy everywhere and enforce *Beck* in the meantime. But neither of these is easy to do. As Lynch notes, the *Beck* decision "has never been properly implemented." This is no accident. Presidents of either party, and Congress, do not want to offend a concentrated, powerful interest, when the political benefit is relatively small (most people know little about such matters and care approximately the same amount). And if Ronald Reagan and George Bush found *Beck* difficult to enforce politically, so will workers find it difficult to enforce in the courts. Like 226, it requires a complex analysis of where unions spend their money. So the litigation gets expensive and the issue doubtful.

Unions have entrenched power, and trench warfare is hard on the offense. No simple solution has been found. But paycheck protection does have certain advantages. It identifies the union heads for what they are: special interests, invading the civil rights of their own members and distorting the political process. It provides a forum for arguing about the right of an individual worker to control his own political activity. And where successful, it gives new tools for attacking union abuses. That these tools are clumsy and blunt is not decisive against them; so too are the existing tools.

Lacking in the 226 campaign was a coherent argument about these central points. We must develop one forthwith.

Larry P. Arnn
President
The Claremont Institute
Claremont, Calif.

Cold November

The rebuttal ["Housekeeping," Aug. 17] by GOPAC political director Peter Roff of my article outlining how Democrats could retake control of the U.S. House of Representatives this November ["House GOP, RIP," June 1] missed almost every point I tried to make. First, no one knows what is going to happen in November. There are enough close races to support a wide range of predictions. Mr. Roff's assertion that Republicans have recruited superior candidates in competitive races is just that—an assertion. Most nonpartisan observers think both parties have done tolerably well in recruitment, and Democratic challengers are better financed than anyone expected.

Second, Mr. Roff's claim that "recent polls" show GOP voters will turn out more than Democratic voters is sheer speculation, and also ignores—as do many Democratic activists—that swing voters are still the dominant factor in most marginal House races. If his prediction depends on anti-Clinton sentiment fueled by the Starr investigation, it's worth remembering that pro-Clinton sentiment among Democratic "base" voters—who tend to attribute the same satanic qualities to Ken Starr that movement conservatives attribute to his target—may be energized as well.

As it happens, Mr. Roff amply documents my point on "intangibles," pretending that the GOP, which cannot reach internal agreement on the federal budget, a tax policy, a social policy, or a foreign policy, is unified around a message of "We're for less government, they're for more." That, folks, is "spin."

Ed Kilgore
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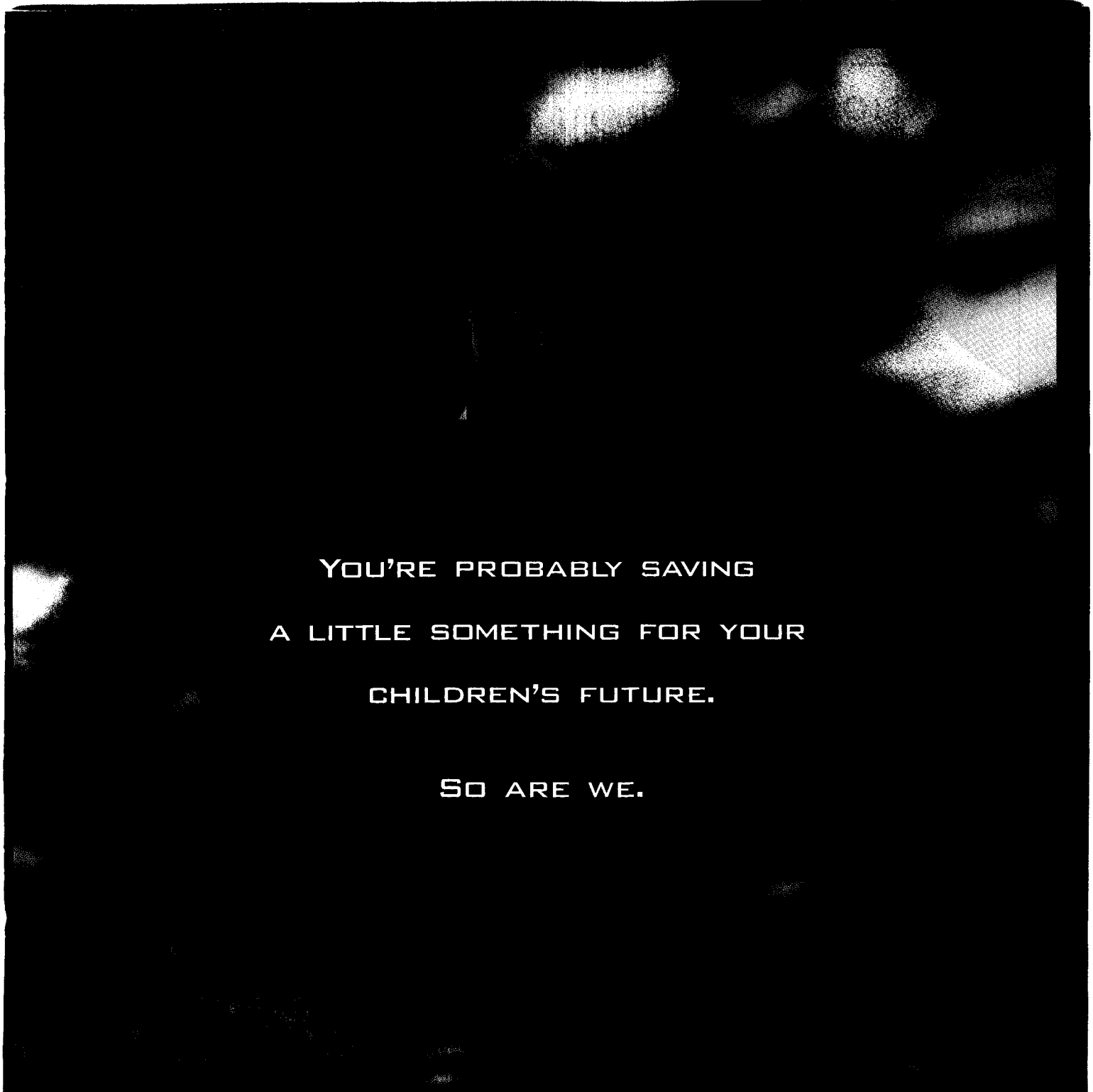

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FROM THE EDITOR

Disrespecting Sharpton

AL Sharpton, leaning back in his chair at his office in Harlem, is waving his hands and talking excitedly about, of all things, Wm. F. Buckley Jr. "Since I was in *high* school, one of my greatest dreams—and I have not achieved it—is to debate William Buckley," Sharpton says. "Buckley would make *mincemeat* out of people. I used to go and sneak into tapings of his show. I remember one night I was there and he *tore* Gunnar Myrdal to pieces."

Sharpton, with a deep, raspy voice, speaks always with the staccato inflections of a preacher. He says he admires Buckley for his rhetorical and writing skills ("I, I'm telling you that by the time I was 16 I read *God and the Man at Yale* [*sic*] at least three times.") But he is on Sharpton's mind for another reason too. "When I was a kid, Bill Buckley ran for mayor," he says. "The Goldwater movement that locally Bill Buckley was, you know, on that swing, in many ways, is like Jackson–Sharpton. So, who knows, in ten, fifteen years we'll decide who's the outsiders and the mainstream?"

Sharpton stands up, with a waistline so big he always seems about to tip over, and walks over to a collection of pictures. "Jesse gave me this for my birthday a couple of years ago," he says, pointing to a picture of Jackson with Martin Luther King Jr. Both are sitting, with Jackson leaning in toward King, whispering advice, the trusted counselor to the great prophet in his last days. Jackson has signed it in a gold pen, "The struggle has continuity."

Next to it Sharpton has a picture of himself and Jackson in a similar pose, Sharpton leaning into Jackson. "That's why I always say *continuity* from one generation to the next," Sharpton explains. And he has a point. King is to Jackson as Jackson is to Sharpton: the moral seriousness just leaches away. Jackson's supposed mentor was the leader of a great and good movement; Sharpton's mentor has a CNN show.

Sharpton desperately wants to attain similar heights. He pops a video into his VCR. It's a tape of a Jackson Rainbow Coalition/PUSH conference. Aired on C-SPAN2. Sharpton is receiving an award. Jackson introduces him and then Sharpton launches into a Jacksonesque riff—"Hook the Latino bone to the white bone," etc.—until the crowd stands and he strides off in triumph. Except that he forgets his award and has to return sheepishly to retrieve it.

Sharpton grew up a boy preacher and there's still as much boyishness in him as there is preacher. On this day, when he has a cold, he repeatedly dabs at his nose with his fat fist in a schoolboy motion. But Sharpton—from his poorly air-conditioned offices above a Caribbean restaurant—yearns to be taken seriously, to put his racial rabble-rousing from the 1980s behind him and become a major force in the Democratic Party.

That he has succeeded to such an extent is a sign—like Geoffrey Fieger's nomination in Michigan—that a weakened Democratic Party is losing its antibodies. In 1997 Sharpton commanded a majority of the black vote in the Democratic New York mayoral primary. He is planning "emphatically" to run again. And he is now routinely visited by mainstream politicians seeking endorsements.

But his past sticks to him like his street accent (in the tumble of words, "ask" invariably comes out "ax"). A few weeks ago a jury found him guilty of defamation for accusing Steven Pagones in 1988 of raping Tawana Brawley. It was an incident that at the time crystallized Sharpton's cynical and inflammatory racial demagoguery. Sharpton will never put it behind him because he just can't let it go.

"I have no reason to disbelieve Tawana," he still insists, his speech becoming hotter as he wades deeper into the swamp of his argument. "I saw no alibi witness who said, 'Yeah, [Pagones] was with me.' So what do we know any different? When you say *now*, what do we know *now* we didn't know ten years ago? He's denying it. She says it's true."

Needless to say, it's a question Sharpton will never be debating on *Firing Line*.

—RICHARD LOWRY

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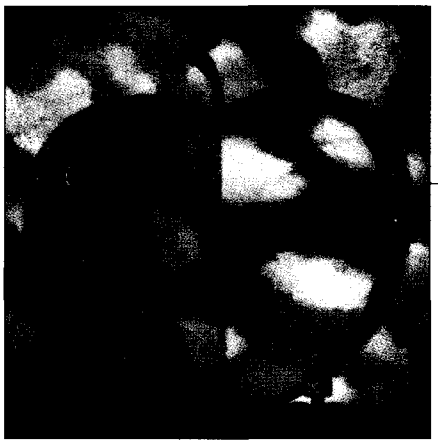

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FOR THE RECORD

■ From President **Clinton**'s second Inaugural Address, in January 1997: "Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume personal responsibility, not only for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation." . . . Clinton, one year later: "I want to say one thing to the American people. I want you to listen to me. I'm going to say this again: I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss **Lewinsky**." . . . Clinton, seven months after that: "I did have a relationship with Miss Lewinsky that was not appropriate. In fact, it was wrong." . . . *Federalist Paper* #70 says impeachment was created for an officeholder who acts "in such manner as to render him unworthy of being any longer trusted." . . . ABC News poll: 73 per cent say Clinton not honest and trustworthy. . . . *Drudge Report*: Clinton calls on President to resign. From *Arkansas Gazette*, August 8, 1974: "No question that an admission of making false statements to government officials and interfering with the FBI . . . is an impeachable offense." . . . Vice President **Al Gore** escapes limelight with "vacation" in Hawaii, but issues statement concerning his Chief: "I am proud of him because he is a great President." . . . White House anti-impeachment strategy is starting to gel: accuse past Republican Presidents of lying and highlight adulteries by current Republican congressmen.

■ Sen. **Dianne Feinstein** (D., Calif.), who was in Roosevelt Room with Clinton when he lied publicly about sexual relations with Monica Lewinsky: "My trust in his credibility has been badly shattered." . . . House Minority Leader **Dick Gephardt** (D., Mo.): "I am very disappointed in his personal conduct." . . . Retiring Rep. **Paul McHale** (D., Pa.): "With great sadness, I have concluded that President Clinton should resign or face impeachment." . . . Former N.Y. Gov. **Mario Cuomo** (D.): "He came off near the end of his speech sounding angry at **Starr** . . . that wasn't an appropriate response. Contrition was. Apology was." . . . Sen. **Robert Torricelli** (D., N.J.): "Bill Clinton probably always knew he was going to face this moment of truth." . . . Rep. **Gary Ackerman** (D., N.Y.), on Clinton's adulterous Oval Office liaisons: "As President of the United States, it's difficult to check into Motel 6."

■ Dozens of Republicans call for Clinton's resignation, including **Dan Quayle**, **Lamar Alexander**, **Gary Bauer**, and House Majority Whip **Tom DeLay**. . . . On day Clinton admits lie, Texas Gov. **George W. Bush** (R.) endorses teen abstinence program, reports *Dallas Morning News*. . . . **Steve Forbes**: "President Clinton should voluntarily release to the public the transcript and video of his testimony so the American people can clearly see what he said—and what remains to be said." . . . Sen. **Arlen Specter** (R., Pa.): Clinton speech "has all the earmarks of further deception." . . . Sen. **John Chafee** (R., R.I.): "This is a question about leadership, not merely about legalities. This pattern has diminished the moral authority the President needs." . . . **William Bennett**, in *Wall Street Journal*: "The most deceptive, shameless, and self-pitying speech ever delivered by an American President." . . . Sen. **John Ashcroft** (R., Mo.): "The President missed the opportunity [in his speech] to rebuild his moral authority and regain his credibility. In effect, the President has resigned already." . . . Sen. **Orrin Hatch** (R., Utah) to aides, after watching speech: "Wasn't that pathetic?"

Matt-Rothco

"Darling, I can explain everything —via a video link-up."

■ *New York Times* editorial: "[Clinton] went for the time-tested blend of minimal confession and contained tantrum that got him elected twice, but will not make him a leader who will be missed once he leaves Washington." . . . *Atlanta Constitution* editorial: "The case for resignation is strong. If Clinton cared deeply about the nation and the fate of his own programs, he would hand the keys over to Al Gore." . . . *San Jose Mercury News* editorial: "He should be profoundly ashamed, and the shame should haunt him for the rest of his life." . . . NBC's **Tom Brokaw**: "As his own worst enemy, the President is in a class by himself." . . . *New York Post*'s **Steve Dunleavy**: "Bill Clinton will be gone in six weeks." . . . Historian **Douglas Brinkley**: "The problem for Bill Clinton is that now the opening line of any history textbook is going to say 'He was an amiable rake who oversaw a scandal-plagued Presidency.'" . . . *USA Today*'s **Walter Shapiro** compares Clinton's trip to Martha's Vineyard with **Napoleon**'s exile on Elba. . . . *Washington Post*'s **David Broder**: In defending Clinton, Gore did "incalculable damage to his own chances of being elected President."

■ Britain's *The Sun*: "A world that has no respect for the leader of America has no fear of America either." . . . *Evening Standard*: Clinton "will slink from the world stage, a greedy and sexually incontinent creep." . . . In Milan, *Il Giornale* advises **First Lady**: "You ought to pack your bags." . . . In Paris, *Le Monde* runs front-page cartoon of weepy Clinton apologizing to Statue of Liberty, who replies: "Take your hand off me!" . . . Japanese media notes that Prime Minister **Sosuke Uno** resigned in 1989 following scandal involving geisha girl and after serving only 69 days in office. . . . Iraqi newspaper *Babel* blames Clinton's troubles not on vast right-wing conspiracy, but on Zionist plot to put Gore in White House.

■ **Jay Leno**: "You know what's unbelievable about this? It's been reported now that President Clinton owes something like $6 million in legal fees over all of this. That's when you know you're in trouble, when you spend $6 million for legal advice and the best thing your lawyers can come up with is, 'You might as well admit you got some.'"

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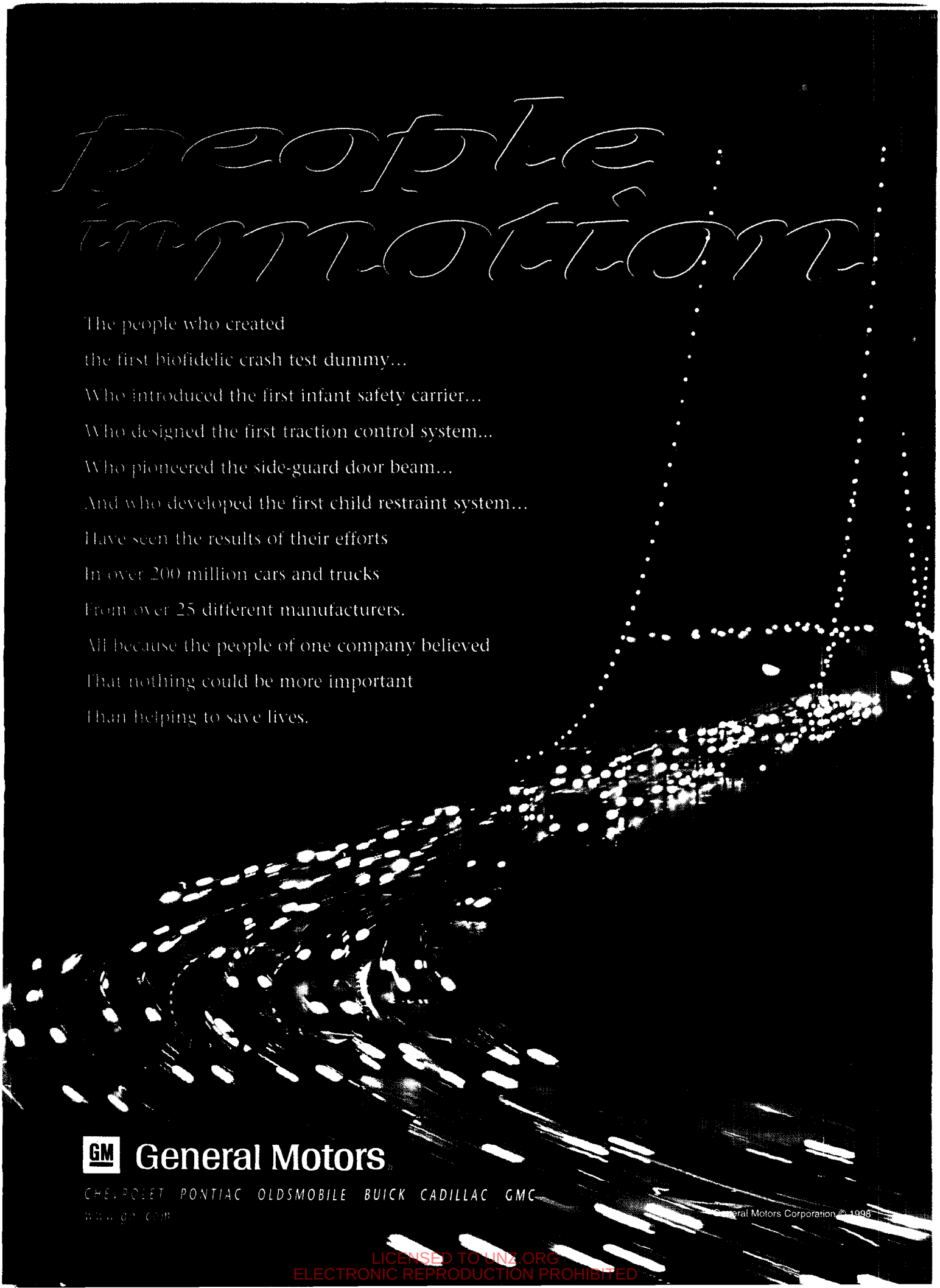
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THE WEEK

■ Since you mentioned it, what would have been an *appropriate* relationship with Miss Lewinsky?

■ Could the President really have worn her necktie—the one that was supposed to show she was close to his heart—the day Monica Lewinsky testified? How heedless, how vulgar, how . . . appropriate. Amidst all the other threads of this cat's cradle, at some level our President must be gratified that his potency is a topic of national discussion. How else would such a damaged being know he had any?

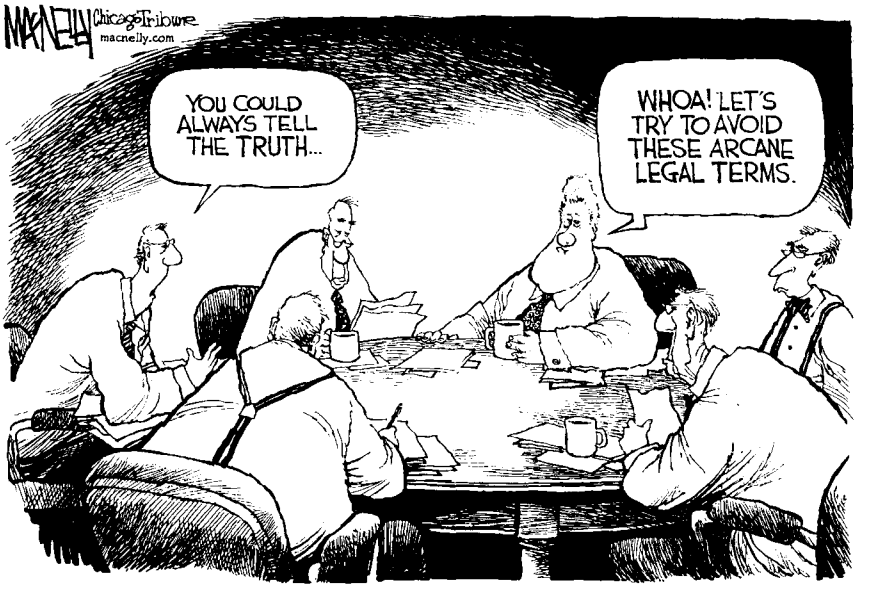
■ One heavily used rest-stop in Clinton coverage is the thought that "most" Presidents have been adulterers. As Garry Wills notes in *Time*, the truth is less depressing. Pending DNA evidence, Thomas Jefferson's affair with his slave Sally Hemmings has not been proved. Grover Cleveland acknowledged as his the illegitimate child of a young woman who had many admirers (he married while President). Warren Harding did not couple with Nan Britton in a White House closet; her self-serving tale of sin—published after Harding died, and taken up by New Deal flacks—has been debunked by recent historians. Franklin Roosevelt had several in-office girlfriends, about as many as Eleanor. Dwight Eisenhower probably had an unconsummated pre-presidential affair with his driver, Kay Summersby. The only goat in the Oval Office was JFK—until now. A better America elected better Presidents, across the board.

■ For the second time this year, Sen. John Ashcroft (R., Mo.) has proposed a bold tax plan. The latest version would cut taxes by $1.8 trillion over five years by reducing marginal rates to 10 per cent for income up to $68,400 and 25 per cent above that. Since the 15 per cent payroll tax applies in the 10 per cent bracket, the effect would be to make everyone's combined income- and payroll-tax rate the same (25 per cent). Arguably, that makes Ashcroft's tax flatter than the flat tax. Meanwhile, he would eliminate most corporate welfare, shave discretionary spending by 10 per cent, and reduce the growth of entitlements. The plan has its flaws: for one thing, it makes Social Security even more redistributive than it already is. And it is hard to see it passing any time soon—unless Sen. Ashcroft can persuade other Republicans to unfurl the banner of limited government as strikingly as he has done.

■ The census is not a political poll, said a U.S. District Court on August 24. The 3 to 0 ruling declared statistical sampling illegal when used for congressional apportionment, thereby scuttling the Clinton Administration's plans to count 90 per cent of the population in 2000 and estimate the rest—a technique open to political manipulation and hence a threat to the GOP's House majority. The Supreme Court probably will hear the case on appeal, but for now the Census Bureau must plan to carry out its constitutional duty and perform an "actual enumeration" of the population, which has been done every ten years since 1790. If the Democrats hope to recapture Congress, they'll have to do it the old-fashioned way.

■ This July was the hottest month on record over the past century, prompting Vice President Gore once again to proclaim that global warming is here. But one month does not a trend make, especially when there is a ready explanation. The beginning of 1998 was unusually hot because of El Niño, whose effects are rapidly fading; April was more abnormally warm than July. Take El Niño out of the picture, and neither the satellites nor weather balloons find any warming trend at all. And on August 14, *Science* published another paper documenting dramatic temperature swings prior to the dawn of modern civilization. One researcher said, "Our findings show that the climate can warm up suddenly without any connection to human activity"—or to global-warming treaties.

■ Though it is not *NR*'s practice to advise Democratic primary voters, an exception should be made for the 8th Congressional District of Massachusetts, stomping ground of such storied figures as James Michael Curley and William Bulger. Former Boston mayor Raymond Flynn, who is running for the seat, is an old-fashioned patronage-dishing pol. He also takes a nip now and then—if that is all that is left in the bottle. But this last hurrah of the machine Democrat has one socially conservative position left: Flynn is pro-life, and remained so even as President Clinton's ambassador to the Vatican.



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Better this than some anti-fetus yuppie. Let's have one more round, for the House.

■ The UN Special Commission (UNSCOM), which regularly inspected Iraq for weapons of mass destruction, was one of George Bush's most important achievements in the Gulf War. Bill Clinton has now squandered it. According to the *Washington Post*, the Administration has secretly intervened several times to save Saddam Hussein from unannounced "challenge inspections." The last thing this Administration wants is a new crisis with Iraq. It might get one anyway: Iraq has now ceased all cooperation with even this defanged UNSCOM. So far Saddam has paid no price, even though his February accord with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan was supposed to end such obstruction. Seven and a half years of U.S. policy have now ignominiously collapsed.

■ Three days after Boris Yeltsin swore that his government would not have to devalue the ruble, it devalued. Just like that, Yeltsin shattered what remaining credibility his government had and threw away his one accomplishment over the last six years—taming inflation—which was bought at the terrible price of billions of dollars in wage arrears. Yeltsin responded to the mess in typical fashion, refusing to take responsibility himself but instead firing his prime minister, reformer Sergei Kiriyenko. It is now clear that July's bailout by the International Monetary Fund did nothing but buy Western investors some time to escape. No amount of foreign aid will help Russia as long as the fundamentals of a market economy—property rights and the rule of law—are absent. And it is now also clear that the current U.S. policy of hugging Yeltsin at all costs is short-sighted. Yeltsin is a leader wounded seemingly beyond repair—which may explain the Clinton Administration's sympathy.

■ When President Nixon appointed Lewis Powell to the Supreme Court, he thought he was getting a strict-constructionist. But as so often with Republicans' appointees, Powell decided to play a different role: that of the judicious judicial liberal. Whenever Harry Blackmun struck out for new liberal territory, Powell was right behind him, occasionally pulling him back to more easily defended ground. For this service he was called the Court's "swing vote." His most famous opinion, in the 1978 *Bakke* case, posited a meaningless distinction between using race as *the* factor in university admissions and using it as *a* factor. The Virginia gentleman gave noblesse oblige a bad name by supporting *Roe* v. *Wade* because, he later said, it was unfair that his daughter could get an abortion in Switzerland while poorer lasses could not. Powell drew the line at making sodomy a constitutional right—and apologized for it as soon as he left the Court. David Souter now plays the Blackmun role; Powell has found an all too worthy successor in the man who replaced him, Anthony Kennedy. R I P.

■ Longtime *Glamour* editor Ruth Whitney was understandably miffed when S. I. Newhouse, chairman of Condé Nast, asked her to retire. Adding to the insult was the fact that *Cosmopolitan* editor Bonnie Fuller had been picked to succeed her. One source close to Miss Whitney commented, "Bonnie is not an editor who has any track record editing magazines on issues of substance." What this means is that Miss Fuller is not liberal enough. *Glamour* has taken to interspersing its fashion coverage and sex tips with an unrelenting stream of pro-choice editorials. It also runs political polls, worded in a laughably leading way. (From the September issue: "Should the U.S. do more to protect women's rights around the world?") *Cosmopolitan*'s circulation is soaring, while *Glamour* stagnates. Maybe Seventies feminism is no longer in fashion.

■ What to serve at that impeachment cocktail party? Some suggestions from old bartenders' manuals (with thanks to Walter Olson, Sarah Trexler, and Eric Jenislawski). For the President, if he RSVPs "yes": Bosom Caresser; Scoff-Law; Between the Sheets (though it is not his preferred venue). For Miss Lewinsky: Maiden's Blush; Temptation; Frisky Witch. Vernon Jordan: Leave It to Me. Lucianne Goldberg: Gossip's Cup. Osama bin Laden: B-52 (though, as a Muslim fundamentalist, he might stick with the sparkling water). Ken Starr: Old-Fashioned; Jericho's Breeze. Al Gore: Corpse Reviver. David Kendall gets a drink created in his honor: Legal Accuracy—any of the above minus booze, with the booze in a separate glass, straight up.

Rallying Around

With Clinton in a martial mood,
Trent rose, along with Newt,
While Orrin Hatch and John McCain
Got off a stiff salute.
The switcheroo from bedroom farce
Hit some as passing strange,
But Bill's approval's solid as
The New York Stock Exchange.

—W. H. von Dreele

Over and Out

PRESIDENT Clinton's address to the nation on the Lewinsky affair was one of the most effective speeches in American political history. It disgraced him, his record, his office, and the nation, all in four minutes: a Gettysburg Address of mendacity.

Its most basic lie was not original with Mr. Clinton: the

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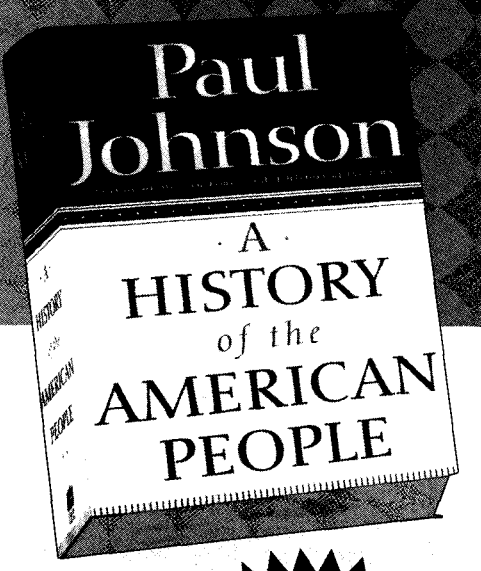

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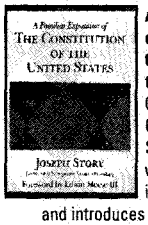

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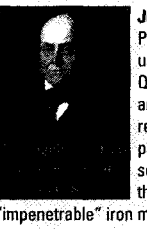

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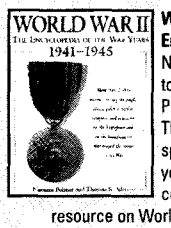

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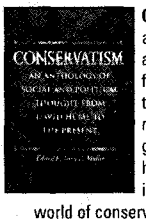

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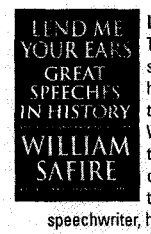

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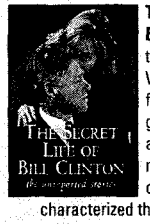

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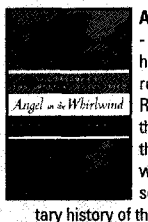

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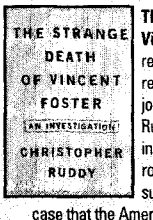

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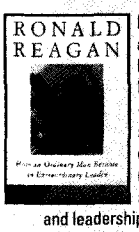

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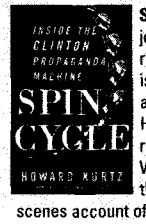

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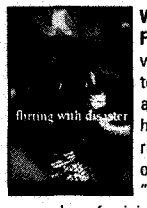

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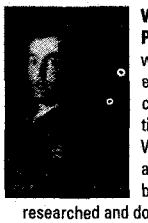

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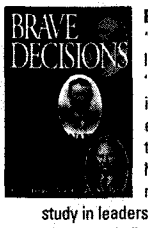

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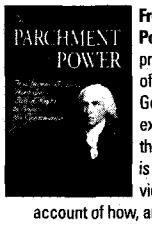

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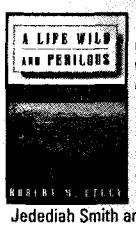

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assertion that he takes "full responsibility" for his actions. This is a term of art, used when something goes hugely wrong (Attorney General Janet Reno used it after Waco). Since the person at the top says he takes responsibility, no one lower down need be punished; and since the person at the top has no intention of being punished, both the disaster and the responsibility evanesce. This time, there is a lot of responsibility to go around.

The President will shirk his. Former senator Sam Nunn called on Mr. Clinton to make a "voluntary and complete disclosure" of everything he has not yet disclosed, even if doing so would lead to his resignation. Stephen Carter, Yale Law bien-pensant, made a similar appeal. Garry Wills, biographer of Presidents, wrote that resigning would be an act of leadership. All three men assume that, somewhere, buried in the geological folds of William Jefferson Clinton, an honest man waits to be awakened. Clearly they are wrong. Clinton is an empty vessel, a sociopathic shell: an Arnold, a Burr, a Nixon. What you see is what there is. The shallowness goes all the way down.

The aides who endorsed his lies—from the four Cabinet secretaries, led by Madeleine Albright, who called Miss Lewinsky's allegations "completely untrue" back in January, to comic shills like Ann Lewis—face a stark choice. In the days before the speech, the White House reported that the President was having apologetic encounters with betrayed underlings—until the underlings, reading the reports, compared notes, and found that the President had not spoken to any of them. Only then did a few hurried encounters occur. How many times do you have to indulge such cynicism before misplaced loyalty becomes . . . something worse? It is, or should be, resignation time in the White House mess.

No such option is open to the President's most important aide, his wife. She has known him since law school, and has been through this many times. She may be angry—at his imprudence, if nothing else—but she was surely complicit in his coverup from the beginning. Attacking Starr also deflects her anger from him. Their retirement years will be different from, say, the Bushes'.

Both Democrats and Republicans are calculating their political advantage—quite properly, under our system. But our system also asks that they look to the nation's advantage. There have been Democratic rumbles of discontent. California senator Dianne Feinstein declared her faith in the President "badly shattered." New York senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan called the President's speech "not adequate." Sen. Moynihan won his seat in 1976 from James Buckley, the first major Republican to call for Richard Nixon's resignation. When the Democrats need a James Buckley, who better to play the role?

The Republicans too are on morally shaky ground. They are prey to a variety of reservations: about addressing the President's case just before an election; about exposing their own failings to partisan counterattack; about giving a leg up on the 2000 election to Vice President Gore. It is both prudent and right to withhold final judgment until Ken Starr makes his report. But if they then protect Mr. Clinton to protect themselves, they will sink to his level.

The last group that must take responsibility, as Bill Bennett points out below, is us. Mr. Clinton was elected twice. It is understandable that the American people want to give him the benefit of the doubt and avert their eyes from the seamy details. But our decent impulses are corrupted when put in the service of flagrant indecency.

And while political stability is properly prized, a shortened Presidency would not fatally disrupt the nation. The anti-terrorist bombings, which seem to argue for continuity, in fact show that there is continuity whatever happens: the military and the State Department march on; republican government is larger than the men it raises to power. But because it is not only about men, republican government places a burden on the public. At a certain point, Bill Clinton's fate becomes our character.

He is a weak, bad man. He should never have been elected. He should go.

Counterstrike

COMEDY Central's *The Daily Show* called it "Operation Desert Shield Me from Impeachment." Funny, but too cynical. The U.S. missile strikes against terrorist facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan were a response to a real threat: They targeted the operations of Osama bin Laden, the terrorist mastermind who, according to U.S. intelligence, was responsible for the brutal bombing of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and was plotting further attacks on Americans.

Congressional leaders were therefore right to support President Clinton's action. The last thing Republicans should do is add to the inhibitions and hesitations of an Administration congenitally averse to the forthright use of American military power. The White House's blatant exploitation of the crisis for its own political purposes—dragging Mr. Clinton back from vacation for a portentous Oval Office address to the nation—should be a source of amusement only. Richard Nixon, too, tried to claim

The Abominable Sink Hole

The more we cover Russian loans
The more a tiny voice intones,
"Beware of deadbeats seeking cash";
And when they smell of sour mash
(Or, in this instance, Absolut),
It's time to sit on Uncle's loot.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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indispensability for his foreign-policy expertise—a much more valid claim in his case, and at the height of the Cold War to boot. It didn't help him.

Launching 75 Tomahawk cruise missiles at the training camp in Afghanistan and the chemical-weapons plant in Sudan was, by Clinton standards, a strong performance. In June 1993, responding to an Iraqi assassination attempt against ex-President George Bush, Mr. Clinton launched 23 cruise missiles at a military-intelligence headquarters in Baghdad—in the middle of the night, so that no one would get hurt! This time, the strike in Afghanistan was aimed at a gathering of terrorist leaders reported to be taking place on that day. Admirably cold-blooded, that.

Bin Laden, the terrorist kingpin, is a new phenomenon, but we should not exaggerate either his novelty or the difficulty of defeating him. (There is a canard that he is an American creation. There is no evidence that he is. He did

The Death of Outrage?

BILL Bennett is out with a new book, *The Death of Outrage: Bill Clinton and the Assault on American Ideals* (Free Press, $20). He recently talked to *NR* about the scandal, the public reaction to it, and what effects it is having on American culture.

NR: What do you think of the speech?

Bennett: I thought it was one of the most repellent, self-indulgent speeches ever given by an American President

NR: Why?

Bennett: Because it was a lie. It was a lie literally, in the sense of him not telling the truth and taking responsibility. But it was also a lie emotionally, morally. There was not candor. I don't know whether it was more like an adolescent getting caught doing something terrible and yelling at his parents. Or whether it was the ultimate in cynicism. Or whether it was both. It was ugly.

NR: What responsibility does the political community bear for all this?

Bennett: A fair amount. He, Clinton, is the most responsible party. But in drug rehab, they use the language of enabling. There were people who just shrugged their shoulders and said, "Never mind, we knew this about him." Havel has this great line about the greengrocers during the Communist regime living within the lie, people who knew it was a lie but mouthed the platitudes of a lying regime. To be specific and pointed, I remember being with Mario Cuomo on CNN saying, "Do you really like this guy? It will be more of the same and probably worse. He will be mired in this stuff in '97, '98, and '99."

Democrats waved him on. And Republicans were too polite to raise the issue. Remember there was a fight inside the Dole campaign? I was one of the co-chairmen saying we should take this on. But the public bears responsibility too. Sixty per cent of the people who voted for Clinton said in exit polls he was not trustworthy or honest. Well, he heard that and paid us back: "They don't care, so fine."

NR: What responsibility do Republicans have now?

Bennett: They have only one responsibility, and that is to do the right thing. You hear people say, "Well, it's a good opportunity for Republicans to be the party of virtue." Forget virtue, for a moment. It's the party of truth. Just be clear and consistent and say we're going to do the right thing.

NR: Should there be resignations?

Bennett: One wonders if there's not one honorable man or woman there. I followed Bill Cohen on *Meet the Press* Sunday and it was painful to watch him. I don't get it. I've talked to some Democratic senators whom I know and I've worked with. As Imus said, they're all in diving bells off the Marianas Trench. Unreachable. Moynihan gave us defining deviancy down; now we're defining Democrats down. Where's Lieberman? Where's Kerrey? Where's Bill Bradley?

NR: In a way, is all this just an argument about the sexual revolution?

Bennett: That's a big part of it. It's a false dilemma that we've had for six months: "It's about law. It's about sex." It's obviously about both. But there are people who just cannot get beyond the notion that anything consenting adults do is fine. This, however, is being gradually eroded by two different things. Larry King has asked everybody on his show, "If this was your daughter, how would you feel?" To a person, they have said, "Furious, out of control, vengeful." But the other thing that will test that proposition is this behavior itself. You're in favor of the general proposition? All right. As the facts are coming out we are getting examples of the specifics. How about these facts? Now, how about these? I hope eventually the American people will say, "Enough, we surrender, we don't really mean it."

NR: What is the source of the seeming complacency on the part of the public?

Bennett: Short answer: Good times are rolling; there's certain degree of cynicism about politics. Long answer: Solzhenitsyn and Walker Percy have explained the spiritual depletion of the West, the marginalization of the moral. The decline in the vitality of belief in the things that sustained this country. It's the difference between us now and the us of *Saving Private Ryan*. It's *Saving Private Ryan* vs. *Seinfeld*.

NR: If Clinton gets away with this will it cement that difference once and for all?

Bennett: I don't know if it's once and for all. Never underestimate the American capacity for self-renewal. We may have to really take our medicine, until we start to hear the echoes. Every perjurer is going to claim Clinton as his legal father. Every adulterer is going to claim Clinton as his moral father. When we see the spillover of this, in what kids say, in what becomes routine, then I think there may be a re-evaluation.

NR: Do you think there will be that kind of trickle-down?

Bennett: Unless you repudiate it in no uncertain terms. A resignation or impeachment will constitute a kind of cleansing. But absent that, it will happen. A friend of mine, a psychiatrist, tells me that he's hearing from the marriage counselors already that all the guys are invoking Clinton. Echoes. Echoes.

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win his spurs in the Arab world's equivalent of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan—but U.S. money and arms went to the *Afghan* freedom fighters through the Pakistani military.) While he is a freelancer, bin Laden is dependent on the support of renegade governments, such as Afghanistan's and Sudan's, against which we have leverage. We can target his physical assets by military or covert means and his financial assets through other controls (as Mr. Clinton has also done). His Islamist revolutionary ideology is increasingly discredited in the Muslim world, even in Iran. Defeating him will take time, but it will be done.

Real Troubles

THE Omagh bombing, the largest single atrocity in thirty years of Northern Irish "Troubles," killed 28 people, Catholics and Protestants alike. Shortly afterward, Gerry Adams, the president of Sinn Fein, condemned the murders "without equivocation." Yet Omagh did not differ significantly from the many IRA atrocities which Adams would "neither condemn nor condone," or which he supported outright as the incidental casualties of a necessary war. And the week before Omagh he had pointedly refused to say that "the IRA's war is over." The implication: if politics does not go Sinn Fein's way, the IRA might resume political violence.

Neither Catholics nor Protestants want that. They seek instead from Mr. Adams an unequivocal declaration that the IRA's war *is* over—with actions and policies to match. The first step they now demand is an end to the IRA's so-called punishment beatings in Catholic areas, designed to instill fear in anti-IRA Catholics. The second step is the genuine decommissioning of the IRA's armory. The "Real IRA" got the Omagh bomb detonator from an IRA stockpile. There are scores of such arms caches across Ireland, some guarded by hard-line republicans sympathetic to the "Real IRA."

The third step is to halt the planned releases of convicted terrorists. For there is every likelihood that some of them would go directly from prison to the "Real IRA." And what sense would there be in London's and Dublin's proposing draconian new anti-terrorist measures if they undermine such toughness at the outset?

Without some or all of these steps, Mr. Adams will be unable to enter the Northern Ireland executive as required by the Good Friday peace agreement. After Omagh, public opinion in Britain and Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, would be outraged. David Trimble, the First Minister of the new executive, would be ousted by his own party if he agreed to serve with Adams in these circumstances. The executive would then fall before being sworn into office, as would the entire interlocking structure of the agreement.

London, Dublin, and Washington have grown used to making concessions to terrorists and then congratulating themselves for "realism." After Omagh, democratic politicians and the people they represent are demanding that concessions be made to them, and if necessary taken out of the terrorists' hides. It is not a moment too soon.

Big Mac Attack

BASEBALL, everyone now agrees, is back. It's a revival with a variety of sources: fading memories of the 1994–95 strike; all the new ballparks with charming 1950s quirks and yuppie 1990s amenities; beanie- baby giveaways. But nothing has been quite as important to the diamond renaissance as the chase to beat Roger Maris's single-season home-run record of 61. Baseball may move to the rhythms of summer—a game of afternoon shadows and leisurely pauses—but it has always been defined as well by numbers, the averages and totals that are precise, inescapable measures of performance. And, over the years, certain numbers have achieved a magical power of their own: 56, .406, 755.

Now three players are stalking the gaudy 61: Mark McGwire, the red-haired St. Louis Cardinal with Paul Bunyan forearms, who hasn't truly hit a home run unless it travels 450 feet; Chicago Cubs slugger Sammy Sosa, who lashed 20 homers in June alone; and Seattle Mariner Ken Griffey Jr., with an effortless swat of a swing and a chance to catch Henry Aaron one day. McGwire & Co. are matching their brawn and craft against the inexorable progress of the numbers, as games tick away and Maris's legendary total sticks at 61.

The chase fires the imagination. But cynics relish a chance to explain away the heroic. For years, Maris had an asterisk by his 61, a stain of illegitimacy he incurred for playing in a season (1961) with eight more games than the season (1927) in which Babe Ruth launched 60. This year doubters talk of, among other things, expansion-club pitching. Never mind that 1961 was an expansion year too. And now comes grousing that McGwire is taking a muscle-boosting pill. Never mind that he was already hitting 49 homers a season a decade ago. As any 11-year-old knows, what we will witness if someone belts number 62 is a prodigious athletic accomplishment, pure and simple. Hold the asterisks, please.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ C. Dickerman Williams, R I P

C. D. Williams would have been 98 if he had lived another few weeks. We knew him almost fifty years. He had been a striking figure, tall, slim, handsome, with the lightly freckled face of a New England aristocrat, and a voice that gave off the lightest tremor of deference, for the

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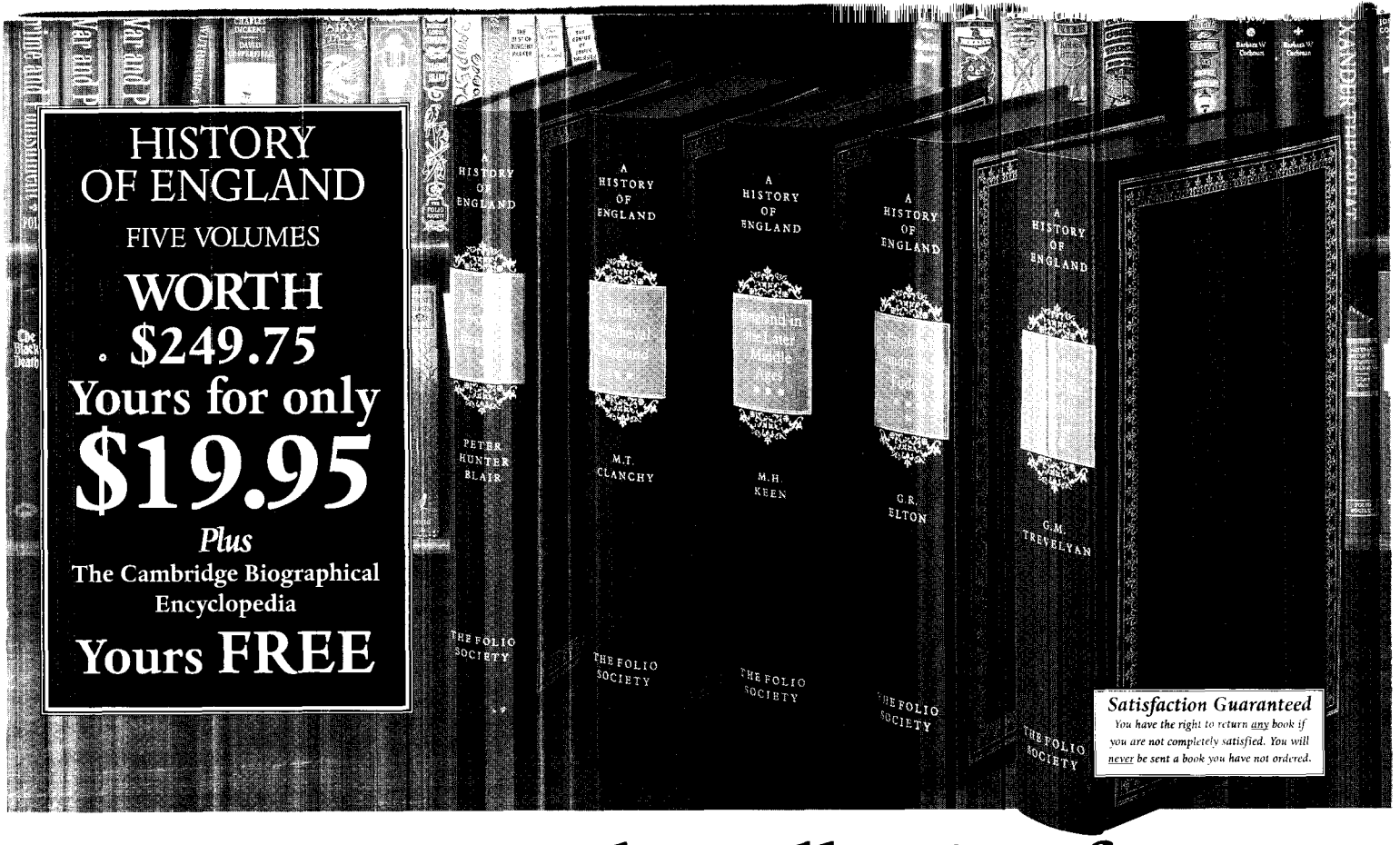

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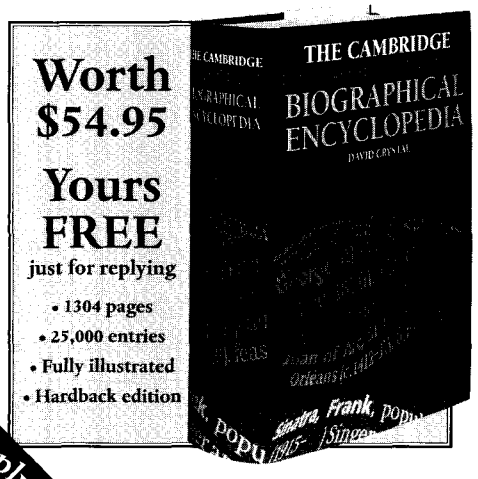

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benefit of those who heard him speak out his resolute mind, so abundantly stocked and orderly. His learned essays, in particular one on the Fifth Amendment, were carefully noted, and for a spell he lectured at the Yale Law School. But mostly, he was a practicing lawyer, and for 25 years, until he retired, NATIONAL REVIEW and its editor were among his clients. Under his supervision, we were wild with liberty.

I recall in 1956 preparing an article on a historic political scandal involving a failed double agent called Paul Hughes. Hughes represented himself to the hysterically anti-McCarthy *Washington Post* as an employee of Senator Joe McCarthy, with deep reservations about the way McCarthy was acting. Soon executives of the *Post* were passing Hughes money, preparing a major exposé based on his secret information. At one point they listened agog to a report from Hughes that McCarthy was accumulating machine guns and rifles. . . . At the last moment, the *Post* writer, investigating a relatively trivial detail, blew a fuse and the whole thing exploded. There was a trial. It was a day of heavy mourning for the *Post*: The jurors believed Hughes's version of what had happened, not the *Post*'s. We decorated our own story with cartoons from Herblock, the *Post*'s acetylene torch on McCarthy, and to make our ironic point, we supplanted the *Post*'s Bad Herblock Names—Joe McCarthy, Richard Nixon, Pat McCarran—with the *Post*'s Good Names—Clayton Fritchey, Alfred Friendly, Joseph Rauh—all of whom had been taken for a ride by Hughes. Dutifully, we requested permission of the *Post* to use the cartoons.

Permission denied.

We turned to C. D. Williams. Go ahead. In this situation, he opined, First Amendment rights prevail over copyright law. The article—"The Case of the Secret Informer; or The Terrible Disappointment of Joseph L. Rauh Jr." was published. No protest.

In 1948, a frightened émigrée schoolteacher teaching chemistry in New York got word out that she was being detained in the Soviet consulate to be sent back to the Soviet Union and on to Gulag for the sin of insufficient servility. C. D. Williams obtained a habeas-corpus writ from a court and thrust it into the hands of the Soviet consul. That night Madame Kasenkina jumped out of the third-story window where she was locked up. The police charged into the courtyard and took her to a hospital. She was lame, but free from Soviet justice.

Ours was a very long association involving everything from loss of life at sea to fine constitutional distinctions. Did I need to join the American Federation of Television and Radio Actors to speak my views on public issues? One of the union's agents had accosted me in a studio: This would be my last broadcast unless I joined, he said. The case went three judicial stories up, and finally C. D. Williams, with the help of the National Right to Work Committee, extracted a compromise: news analysts could be made to join, but could not be made to observe union discipline—we were free to cross picket lines. Free to pursue our right to free speech.

For one year he served as moderator on *Firing Line*, traveling as far west as Los Angeles, where we spent an hour with Groucho Marx; as far east as London, where Harold Macmillan recounted some of his stories. Groucho: "I'm told I shouldn't contradict the judge here [C. D. Wms was not a judge] because he knows all about the law—he was attorney general for President Taft!" (How Williams laughed, his wholesome, self-effacing laugh, so universally engaging. To have been attorney general for President Taft, 1909–1913, would have made him as old in 1970 as in fact he was when he died.) It was Grouchospin on Williams, who had served in 1926 as clerk to Chief Justice Taft.

HE lived strenuously by the Christian dictum that called for civic engagement. He chaired the committee of lawyers recommending court appointments to Senator James Buckley, who declined to exercise conventional patronage rights. When Howard Hunt faced his final problems post Watergate, C. D. Williams undertook, pro bono, to defend him. He argued before a district court in the case of *Linus Pauling* v. *National Review* that the logic that, pursuant to *New York Times* v. *Sullivan*, made a public official unable to sue for libel except when there was actual malice, applied equally to public figures. The judge finally agreed, and from that moment on, *New York Times* applied not only to mayors and congressmen, but also to journalists and pundits.

It was always a wince-maker for those of us who had known him with the body of a mountain climber to see him, at a comfortable home in New Haven in the last years, bent over his walker, moving at a snail's pace. But his spirits were, as far he would let anyone know, high; certainly his prehensile mind remained acute. "I greatly enjoyed your visit the other day," his letter, at the end of 1996, ran. "I hope you will have many more trips in the Newport–Stamford area and continue to have lunch with me every time. . . . You had no sooner left than word was out that Alger Hiss had died. Very annoying for him to die *after* we had lunch. His death has revived interesting memories—really more about Chambers than about Hiss. You were astonished that I could remember [your son] Christopher's wife's maiden name as being Lucy Gregg. If I recall correctly, the reception at his wedding was held at a house dedicated to Woodrow Wilson, and I remember being astonished that such a hardline Republican as you would hold a reception in such a house. Also, if I remember correctly, Vice President Bush was present, and I had quite a long chat with him. Outside there were three men hanging around and they were his guards. I am now 96 years of age and any ceremony to which you go for my sake will not be a wedding. Love to Pat. Devotedly, C. D. W."

There will be a memorial service later in the year in New Haven. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW extend our sympathies to his two daughters and to his son, Judge Stephen Williams. **—WFB**

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SCANDAL FILE

High Time

ANN COULTER

NOW that Bill "That-Allegation-Is-False" Clinton has admitted that he is a creep and a liar, the nation is anxiously waiting to see if he also has committed any "high crimes and misdemeanors." The day after President Clinton admitted that his finger-wagging, eye-squinting assurance in January ("I did not have sex with that woman—Monica Lewinsky") was not quite accurate, the presidential flacks who had been shouting "allegedly, allegedly" for seven months are trying a new defense.

On August 18, official Dissembler for the President Lanny Davis announced on *Crossfire* that "lying is not a high crime and misdemeanor." Even Sen. Orrin Hatch indicated that any impeachment hearings would be limited to "obstruction of justice" and other "serious felonies." Those, he said, "are high crimes."

No, actually, those are "crimes." The "high crimes and misdemeanors" for which the President—or any civil officer of the United States—is to be impeached have nothing to do with the criminal law. There is, in fact, no such thing as a "high crime" or "high misdemeanor" in the criminal codes.

For more than six hundred years, "high crimes and misdemeanors" has referred exclusively to conduct requiring impeachment. Though any serious felony will do, impeachment will not result in a prison sentence or beheading. An impeachment conviction in the Senate merely removes a statesman from his office of "honor, trust, or profit" with the United States. The criminal law is for personal punishment; impeachment is for keeping statesmen virtuous.

Miss Coulter is a lawyer with the Center for Individual Rights. This article is adapted from her new book, High Crimes and Misdemeanors *(Regnery).*

Some history: The Framers borrowed the phrase from Britain, where it was first used in connection with an impeachment in 1380. There were several instances of its use during the colonial period: in 1666 Viscount John Mordaunt was impeached for the high crime and misdemeanor of making uncivil addresses to a woman; in 1680 Sir William Scroggs, lord chief justice of the King's Bench, was impeached on account of "his frequent and notorious excesses and debaucheries," bringing "the highest scandal on the public justice of the kingdom"; in 1701 Edward, Earl of Oxford, a member of the King's Council, was impeached for procuring an office for someone "known to be a person of ill fame and reputation."

The list goes on. Notably, none of these are crimes—or even misdemeanors—under the criminal law. As Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story wrote in his great *Commentaries on the Constitution*, it is not only "crimes of a strictly legal character" that are impeachable offenses, but also political offenses, growing out of "personal misconduct . . . so various" that they "must be examined upon very broad and comprehensive principles of public policy and duty."

Nixon Redux

The following is the first article of impeachment against President Nixon. Sound familiar?

In his conduct of the office of President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of the President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has prevented, obstructed, and impeded the administration of justice. . . . The means used . . . have included one or more of the following:

Section 1: Making or causing to be made false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States.

Section 2: Withholding relevant and material evidence or information from lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States.

Section 3: Approving, condoning, acquiescing in, and counseling witnesses with respect to the giving of false or misleading statements to lawfully authorized investigative officers and employees of the United States and false or misleading testimony in duly instituted judicial and congressional proceedings.

Section 4: Interfering or endeavoring to interfere with the conduct of investigation by the Department of Justice of the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force, and congressional committees. . . .

Section 8: Making false or misleading public statements for the purpose of deceiving the people of the United States into believing that a thorough and complete investigation had been conducted with respect to allegations of misconduct on the part of personnel of the Executive Branch of the United States and personnel of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, and that there was no involvement of such personnel in such misconduct.

Section 9: Endeavoring to cause prospective defendants and individuals duly tried and convicted to expect favored treatment and consideration in return for their silence or false testimony, or rewarding individuals for their silence or false testimony. □

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So, a "high misdemeanor" refers not, as it is commonly construed, to a criminal offense just short of a felony, but to simple misbehavior—bad demeanor, if you will. As the Rodino Report during the Watergate investigation explained, "From the comments of the Framers and their contemporaries, the remarks of delegates to the state ratifying conventions, and the removal-power debate in the First Congress, it is apparent that the scope of impeachment was not viewed narrowly." Instead, impeachment has always been viewed as—among other things—a guarantee of the moral behavior of public officials.

In the course of prosecuting one of the greatest impeachment trials in Anglo-American history—that of Warren Hastings—Edmund Burke said: "Other constitutions are satisfied with making good subjects; [impeachment] is a security for good governors." Burke meant "good" in the moral sense: "it is by this tribunal that statesmen [are tried] not upon the niceties of a narrow jurisprudence but upon the enlarged and solid principles of morality."

It is exactly this understanding of impeachment that underlies the phrase used in Article I of the Constitution. James Madison said the "first aim" of the Constitution was to ensure that men with the "most virtue" would become the nation's rulers. The Constitution's impeachment power was for "keeping them virtuous whilst they continue to hold their public trust." Or as Alexander Hamilton put it, "Men, in public trust, will much oftener act in such a manner as to render them unworthy of being any longer trusted than in such a manner as to make them obnoxious to legal punishment."

To be sure, there were differences in the practical application in Britain and the United States. Impeachments in Great Britain were often used as a weapon in the ongoing and turbulent power struggle between Parliament and the King. Consequently, impeachments tended to fall into ponderous, grand-sounding categories such as "abuse of power" or "encroachment on Parliament's prerogatives." These categories were expanded and reshuffled for use in a constitutional republic. Personal misconduct took on a larger role in impeachments, for example, and policy disputes were not areas of impeachable conduct.

Having just fought a war to get rid of a king, the framers had "the perfidity of the chief magistrate" clearly in their sights when they included broad grounds for impeachment. They discussed the Constitution's impeachment power in terms of removing a President who "misbehaves" or "behave[s] amiss," as two of the delegates put it. Madison wrote that impeachment was meant to remove Presidents for "incapacity, negligence, or perfidity."

WHAT does such presidential misconduct look like? We, of course, have a recent template. On July 27, 1974, the House Judiciary Committee adopted three articles of impeachment against Richard Nixon. The charges against him were neatly summarized near the bottom of the indictment: "In all of this, Richard M. Nixon has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and justice, and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States."

To say that Nixon was forced to resign, as so many commentators do, for acting in a manner "subversive of constitutional government" is meaningless without knowing what acts comprised that "subversion." Nixon's subversion consisted of: One presidential lie, one invocation of presidential privilege, and zero criminal offenses. One month after Nixon resigned, a prosecutor said of some of Nixon's alleged crimes, "none of these matters at the moment rises to the level of our ability to prove even a probable criminal violation by Mr. Nixon."

As Nixon discovered, the President's obligations go far beyond the requirement that he not criminally obstruct justice. Nixon talked about political audits by the IRS, but no political audits were ever conducted (except of Nixon himself). Nixon invoked one privilege one time (and this was somewhat legitimate, since the Supreme Court did in fact recognize a brand new legal privilege). And Nixon permitted his subordinates to delay one investigation once—for two weeks.

What really did Nixon in was his long-running campaign of public deceit. The Watergate special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, said of Nixon's disgrace and resignation: "What sank him was his lying." Even President Nixon's most loyal defenders abandoned his cause when they found that he had lied. "The problem is not Watergate or the cover-up," Pat Buchanan told Julie Nixon. "It's that he hasn't been telling the truth to the American people. . . . The tape makes it evident that he hasn't leveled with the country for probably eighteen months. And the President can't lead a country he has deliberately misled for a year and a half."

What was true of Nixon, of course, is just as true of President Clinton. We at least know how Edmund Burke would vote. □

Nowhere to Hyde

JACK FOWLER

SOON enough, the baton in the Clinton scandals will pass from Kenneth Starr to House Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde, who is an entirely different animal. A former staffer remembers Hyde one day "sitting at his desk, smoking a huge, huge cigar. He pulls out of his desk one of those terrible abortion pictures, points his cigar at it and says, 'How the hell can someone be in favor of this?'"

That is pure Hyde. He is a congressional Old Bull who nonetheless has a keen and unmovable moral sense. He is a conviction politician who nonetheless manages to be a team player in the House GOP. He is an articulate and sharp-witted Republican who nonetheless enjoys the respect and affection of Democrats. He could, in short, be President Clinton's worst nightmare.

Everything about the 74-year-old Hyde speaks of largeness. With his burly physique, his prophet-like mane of white hair, his large cigars, and his booming voice, Hyde has always stood out on Capitol Hill. He fills the room. And over the last three years he has often, with his graciousness and humor, provided the ballast of maturity to a collection of House Republicans sparked

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with the energy—and sometimes the recklessness—of the Class of 1994. From the other side of the Capitol, a Senate leadership aide describes Hyde simply: "From where we sit, he's the most highly respected member. He provides the adult supervision for the House leadership. He's it."

It's a long way to have come for the former Democrat from Chicago. ("It was a woman who made a Republican out of me," he told the *Chicago Tribune*, "and that was Eleanor Roosevelt.") Hyde won a seat in the Illinois House in 1966 and was elected to Congress in 1974. He quickly made his reputation by grabbing the most emotional issue in American politics: abortion.

Hyde seems perfectly placed as head of the Judiciary Committee as a constitutional crisis looms.

Despite a press eager to brand pro-life activism as extremist, and despite his colleagues' anger at being forced to vote on the sticky issue, Hyde blitzkrieged the House with amendments to ban Medicaid funding of abortion. Through the sheer force of his passion and eloquence Hyde won the day; the ban was enacted in 1976.

Overnight, Hyde became a hero and a leader to social conservatives, including ethnic Democrats who felt a one-of-usness about the Irish Catholic congressman. And he became a leader among his congressional colleagues. Patrick Riley, former editor of the *National Catholic Register*, recalls Hyde's helping him to find work. "Hyde invited me to lunch in the Capitol. Well, he was late, and I asked the cashier if she had seen the Congressman. She said she hadn't, and then called to the waiters: 'Has anybody seen Henry?' The familiarity was indicative of how everyone liked him. And then at lunch, every congressman who passed our table, I mean every single one, stopped to say hello and talk with Henry. I was dumbfounded. It was obvious he was everyone's darling, and this was in 1979—he had been a congressman for only four years."

For the next twenty years, Henry Hyde would be at the center of congressional policy battles. He was a key figure in the ongoing war in the Eighties over funding for the Nicaraguan Contras, and a primary House spokesman for the Reagan Administration's foreign policy. He served on both the Iran–Contra committee and (as ranking Republican) the October Surprise panel, and on the House Select Committee on Intelligence. When the leadership position of Republican Policy Committee chairman opened in 1992, Hyde was the unanimous choice for it, and in 1994 he was selected to lead the Judiciary Committee even though another member had seniority.

Hyde doesn't need much coaching. Peter Roskam, now an Illinois state representative, recalls that when he was an aide to Hyde someone once told him: "'You must be very bright, he's so smart.' That's because people know there's a lot of propping up of members. But Hyde didn't need it." Roskam recalls the morning of a critical vote on Contra funding: "I came in early, but Hyde was already there, at his desk, writing a speech on a legal pad with his felt pen. He didn't need any research. He didn't need any writers. That afternoon he was the debate's clean-up hitter, and he knocked it out of the park."

This eloquence and wit can be the bane of Democrats. During the height of the Nicaragua battles, then-Rep. Michael Barnes (D., Md.) and other Contra foes held a Capitol Hill press conference to attack Contra funding. Hearing of the event, Hyde left his office with a glint in his eye. As he walked into the room and took a seat in the back, Barnes blanched, and with good reason: Hyde began hurling one-liners that short-circuited the press conference. Barnes left clearly flustered. Hyde left chuckling.

The combination of deeply felt principles and tactical smarts can make trouble for a politician's colleagues. Not in Hyde's case. "He doesn't demand, 'I must have this!'" says Kathryn Lehman, a former staffer. "And even when there is something he feels strongly about, like civil-asset forfeiture, he's willing to back off to protect Republicans."

Hyde opposes the practice whereby prosecutors seize assets without being required to prove their use in a crime. To Hyde, this defies jurisprudence, and for years he has proposed legislation that would shift the "burden of proof" from those being prosecuted to the government. To Hyde, it's a matter of principle, but to his fellow Republicans, the bill—opposed by police unions and law-enforcement groups—is an election-year risk. He has agreed to hold off until next year.

But Hyde is not always willing to go along with his conservative colleagues. In late 1992, he slapped down what he felt was a premature bid by then–Minority Whip Newt Gingrich to challenge Minority Leader Bob Michel (Michel ending up retiring). Hyde has the authority to dampen the over-the-top enthusiasms of his colleagues. When, during Gingrich's ethics controversy, John Kasich rose before a roomful of GOP members to argue that American culture was at stake, Hyde (who supported Gingrich) responded with a curt: "Switch to decaf."

So Hyde—with his combination of independent judgment and willingness to be a team player—seems perfectly placed as head of the Judiciary Committee as a constitutional crisis looms. He will certainly be a tough target for the White House attack machine. Says John LaFalce, a Buffalo Democrat whose regard for Hyde is shared by many of his Democratic colleagues: "I like Henry Hyde a lot. He's an affable, friendly, gregarious extrovert." Do Democrats trust him with Bill Clinton's fate? "He has a sense of the institution of Congress. He has a sense of history. He has a good understanding of human nature. They're all desirable qualities to have in a Judiciary Committee chairman."

FOR his part, Hyde has reportedly told colleagues he is quite willing to pull the plug on a Starr report if it is too flimsy to warrant serious consideration. But he is also willing to take action right away if the report merits it. Publicly, he will say only: "I don't want to be in a position where I can be accused of coming to the contest with my mind made up. The credibility of what we do in the House must be of the highest order."

With Hyde at the helm, it almost certainly will be. But that doesn't necessarily mean Democrats will like it. During the 1984 uproar over CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors, Hyde tangled publicly with one Senate critic. When they bumped into each other in a Capitol elevator soon after, the senator, with another member present, gave Hyde a lecture. When Hyde got off the elevator, the senator gave him the finger.

In a few months, the White House may feel exactly the same way. □

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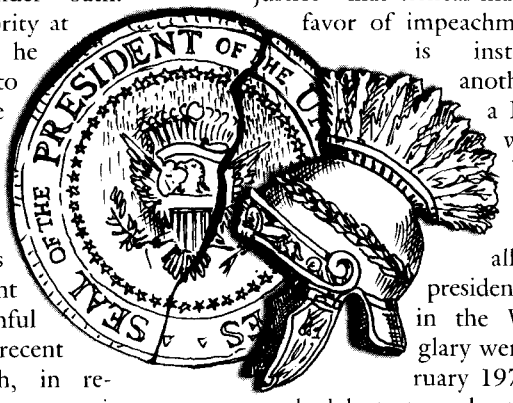
Poll Position

JOHN ZOGBY

A CURSORY look at the polls in the Lewinsky Affair suggests some superficial conclusions: that they are President Clinton's best refuge; that they demonstrate a "values deficit" on the part of the American people; and, finally, that they show that the public has a schizophrenic attitude toward their President. But none of these conclusions are necessarily true.

Clinton's armor is beginning to show serious cracks. While his job-approval rating rose slightly in a Zogby International survey taken immediately after his "apology" speech, his personal favorability dipped some, and a majority of likely voters told us that they feel that the Presidency has been diminished. Significantly, by 5 to 1, Americans blame Clinton rather than Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr for this cheapening of an institution they revere.

The speech itself was not a hit. In preliminary polling, almost half the likely voters suggested that the President neither was sincere nor told the truth. While his job-performance rating stayed about the same, almost 2 out of 3 told us that he should consider leaving office if it turned out that he had encouraged anyone to lie under oath. Nonetheless, a majority at this point told us he should be able to leave this part of the story behind and continue to govern.



In another important finding, by 6 to 1, respondents said that President Clinton is less truthful than other recent Presidents—although, in responding to a different question, a majority said he is about the same as others. Expectations for truthfulness in the Oval Office have been seriously diminished, too.

Commentators constantly insist that voters do not care about the President's behavior as long as the economy is good and the nation is at peace. But that's too facile. We found that 2 out of 3 do not consider Clinton a positive role model for their children, and 7 out of 10 would neither hire nor desire to work for a CEO who has sexual relations with an intern. In the case at hand, 3 out of 5 are bothered by the idea of a President of the United States having an "inappropriate relationship" with a young intern. Clearly, there is nothing wrong with the values of the American people.

On the other hand, Clinton benefits from the competing and equally compelling value that Americans place in the Presidency as an institution. They want the position to be stable. Thus, they have consistently opposed impeachment if the issue is sex or sex and lies. But majorities over the months have consistently favored impeachment if there proves to be clear, incontrovertible evidence of obstruction of justice.

This seems to me a fairly sophisticated response. A flashback to the 1970s reminds us that, in the Watergate matter, it was only when the "smoking gun" appeared—tapes of a President clearly discussing stonewalling and obstructing justice—that critical mass developed in favor of impeachment. Watergate is instructive from another angle: how a President reacts when the walls begin to close in.

The first allegations of presidential involvement in the Watergate burglary were made in February 1973. The scandal had lost steam by that summer; it was Alexander Butterfield's revelation of the existence of Oval Office tapes that breathed new life into it. President Nixon's popularity was still fairly high, but as Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox began to close in on the evidence, Nixon's behavior became more and more erratic and self-defeating. He became so obsessive in his denial that he ultimately misread public sentiment and ordered Cox's firing: the Saturday Night Massacre. It was only then that calls for impeachment became overwhelming.

The poll-driven present incumbent tested several scenarios in determining his response to Starr. Trial balloons from the White House included demeaning Monica Lewinsky, claiming his Fourth Amendment right to privacy, then admitting to a relationship short of the previously established definition of "sex." Each of these trial balloons popped, but Clinton still couldn't bring himself to deliver a speech that would fly with the public.

The burden on Starr now is to move beyond sex. Americans are clearly uncomfortable with the topic, with the invasion of the President's privacy, and even with the criminalization of partisan differences. But if Starr can make a segue from sex and lies to documenting a pattern of deceit, cover-up, and obstruction of justice, President Clinton is in more serious trouble than at any time so far.

The burden on Starr now is to move beyond sex.

And how will he respond? For someone who supposedly wants this issue to go away—as do many of the American people—President Clinton took a strange tack: signaling in his defiant speech that he will do all he can to fight Starr and continue to keep this sordid issue alive. It appears that we have a bit of the Nixonian siege mentality here, as Clinton lashed out even though it obviously was not in his interest to do so. If Attorney General Janet Reno calls for a new Independent Counsel on the issue of campaign fundraising, the pressure on the President becomes even greater.

But any short-term problem is only a part of the story. Clinton's legacy will be forever tarnished. His story will be one of a President who lived recklessly, was under constant suspicion for misdeeds, and watched his friends go down for his sake. A majority of voters now would not vote for Clinton if he were eligible to run again in 2000. And former President George Bush would defeat him soundly if the 1992 election were run again.

For a President who cares so much about the polls, that must be the most damning judgment of all. □

Mr. Zogby is the president of Zogby International, an independent polling firm based in Utica, N.Y.

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ADVANCING by DEGREES

RAMESH PONNURU

American education suffers from a variety of maladies, whether it is meddling judges (Andrew Peyton Thomas, p. 26) or out-of-control multiculturalists (Jon Sanders, p. 38). But against this background of failure there are signs of hope, in the enterprisingness of homeschoolers (Isabel Lyman, p. 30), the founders of single-sex schools (Christine Whelan, p. 34), and even conservatives at Yale (Avik Roy, p. 40). Most importantly, the environment in which battles over education are fought is changing radically (Ramesh Ponnuru, see below).

WHEN President Clinton vetoed Sen. Paul Coverdell's education savings accounts in July, he did it in the media-cycle equivalent of the dead of night. Two months before, he had vetoed a school-choice program for Washington, D.C., with little fanfare. In other words, he acted like someone taking a disreputable stand on behalf of an interest group, which, of course, he was.

The paradox here is that education is supposed to be a Democratic issue. Democrats have been crowing about its steady ascent on the national political scene: it's now the top concern of voters. Education was one of the four issues Clinton supporters robotically raised during the budget fight in late 1995 and on the campaign trail in 1996. (He ran for president of the national school board, cracks California's Gov. Pete Wilson.) Clinton's State of the Union speech this year was stuffed to the gills with poll-tested proposals for more money, more schools, more teachers—just plain more, as Samuel Gompers would say. Many Republicans were resigned to their passage.

Meanwhile, the Republican agenda supposedly comes across as hostile to public education and to teachers. In particular, vouchers are allegedly unpopular, the kiss of death for any politician seeking the votes of suburban parents who worry that vouchers would disrupt the schools to which they have worked hard to send their children. And most Republicans shudder at the recollection of the PR drubbing they received three years ago when they tried to abolish the Department of Education.

It is true that the public trusts Democrats more than Republicans when it comes to education. But that gap is shrinking. In his polling for Republicans, Ed Goeas has found that the gap has slipped from 40 to 11 points in four years. "It's really remarkable how much progress has been made," says Rep. John Boehner (R., Ohio), who is in charge of House Republicans' communications strategy. And increasingly, themes of competition and accountability are dominating the education debate. That's good news for Republicans—not to mention for the next generation.

The evidence that education reformers are on the offensive is everywhere. In one week in April, Senate Republicans, by no means an adventurous group, easily killed Clinton's agenda and passed the Coverdell bill. In fairness, this may have had more to do with Clinton's current weakness than with any shift in education politics. But New York Sen. Al D'Amato, no ideological crusader, has been attacking "liberal teachers unions," and proposing merit pay, competency testing, and the end of tenure for teachers in his re-election campaign. (No less a political authority than Dick Morris argues that tenure is the Achilles' heel of the unions.)

In June, vouchers won their first big legal victory when the Wisconsin Supreme Court allowed Milwaukee's program to include schools with religious affiliations. Getting the issue in front of the U.S. Supreme Court has been a goal of the school-choice litigators at the Institute for Justice; next term, they are likely to get their wish.

Bold structural reforms have made substantial headway with public opinion. According to 1997 and 1998 Gallup polls for Phi Delta Kappa, vouchers for the first time have the support of a plurality of the general public and a clear majority of public-school parents. For years, suburban parents regarded the schools the way they regarded congressmen: bad, except for their own. In January 1998, however, a majority of Americans reported dissatisfaction with their local schools in a CNN/Gallup poll. Pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick finds this dissatisfaction particularly intense among voters who are familiar with the condition of schools today: young parents, and young women beginning to contemplate motherhood.

These findings have not been widely reported—an exception was Karl Zinsmeister's round-up in the May/June *American Enterprise*—but, if they are accurate, their importance can hardly be overestimated. The case for reform, as Rep. Bill Paxon (R., N.Y.) notes, has to start "with the failings of the current system. It took a long time for people to buy into the notion that it is a problem, the most serious fundamental problem in America today. And that there is an alternative." Now that they have, he says, he is optimistic about reform for the first time in his career: "I can see a little crack, a little light coming through."

Some little cracks are appearing in the Democratic Party. For years, ambitious Democrats like Arkansas Gov. Bill

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Clinton promised the most reform the unions would tolerate and the least the public would accept. They developed an elaborate form of double-speak, with code words that suggested one thing to most people but that interested parties understood meant something else entirely. "Site-based management," for instance, referred not to deregulation but to the elimination of pesky tests that made accountability possible.

But this year Sen. Robert Torricelli (D., N.J.) *sponsored* the Coverdell bill. Sen. John Kerry (D., Mass.), a liberal dipping his toe in the water of presidential politics, said in June that Democrats were "stuck in ideological cement of our own mixing." He favors public-school choice and an end to teacher tenure and restrictive teacher-certification rules. He also said, "The truth is teachers and schools have been stripped of disciplinary tools and will as the nation experimented with value neutrality, disarming before the political-correctness police, leaving a morality and value vacuum."

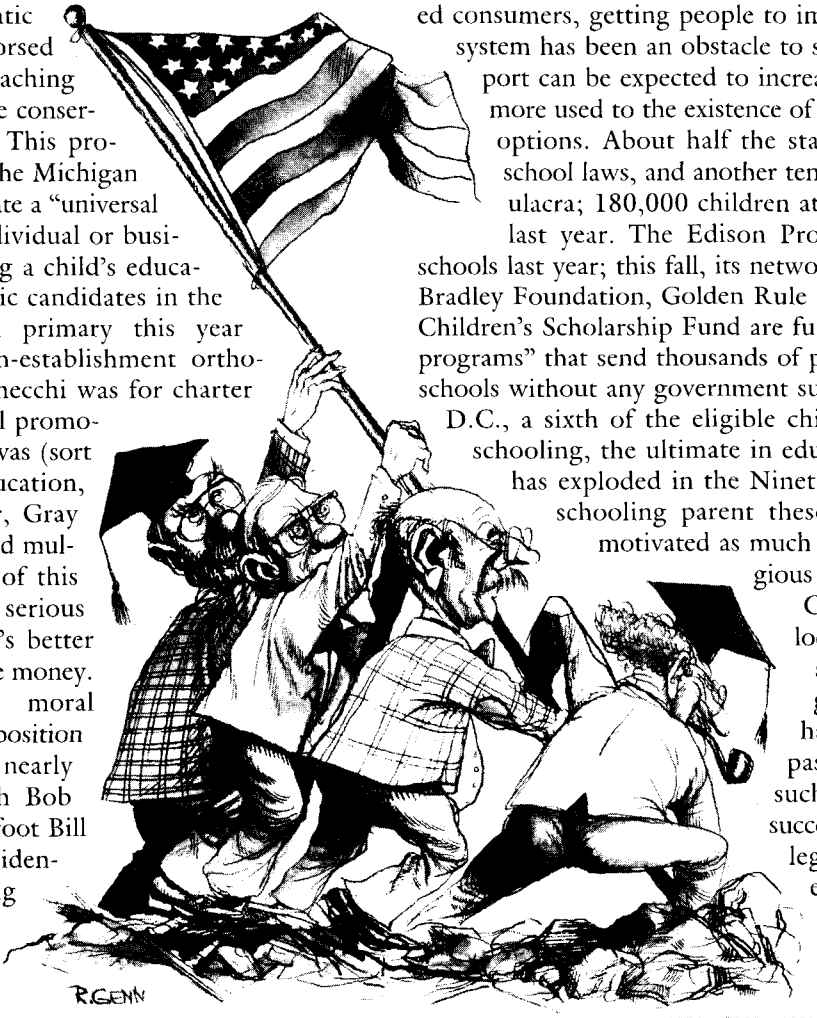
School choice was the only issue on which Bob Dole was able to wrong-foot Bill Clinton in 1996.

In Michigan, Democratic Rep. Jim Barcia has endorsed an ingenious and far-reaching proposal developed by the conservative Mackinac Center. This proposal, which may be on the Michigan ballot in 2000, would create a "universal tax credit" which any individual or business could get by funding a child's education. All three Democratic candidates in the California gubernatorial primary this year departed from education-establishment orthodoxy: businessman Al Checchi was for charter schools and against social promotion, Rep. Jane Harman was (sort of) against bilingual education, and the eventual winner, Gray Davis, favored phonics and multiplication tables. None of this reaches the threshold of serious structural reform, but it's better than just demanding more money.

The intellectual and moral steam has gone out of opposition to school choice. It was nearly the only issue on which Bob Dole was able to wrong-foot Bill Clinton in the 1996 presidential debates, leading Clinton to declare three times that he favored more school choice and had no objection in principle to the inclusion of private schools in the choice programs of states or localities—a stunning concession which Republicans have never exploited. This spring, Art Levine, president of Teachers College at Columbia University, reluctantly endorsed vouchers for poor kids in failing schools. Leaders of the National Education Association and United Federation of Teachers pay tribute to the progress of reform by citing it as a threat that requires them to merge.

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies reports that black and Hispanic support for vouchers, already stronger than white support (the numbers are 57, 65, and 47 per cent respectively), is still growing: 86 per cent of blacks aged 26 to 35 are for them. So liberals are in an uncomfortable position. In North Carolina, for example, the education establishment is trying to close successful charter schools because they enroll too many black students. In Pennsylvania, the teachers union pulled out all the stops to defeat State Rep. Dwight Evans—a black Democrat who supports school choice—and failed. Education policy was the key reason black minister and former congressman Floyd Flake endorsed the re-election of Republican Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. No other issue offers Republicans as great a chance of making inroads among blacks and, even more, among Hispanics.

Since state-controlled industries do not foster sophisticated consumers, getting people to imagine a market-driven system has been an obstacle to school choice. But support can be expected to increase as the public grows more used to the existence of a variety of educational options. About half the states now have charter-school laws, and another ten have passed weak simulacra; 180,000 children attended charter schools last year. The Edison Project ran 25 for-profit schools last year; this fall, its network will include 48. The Bradley Foundation, Golden Rule Insurance Co., and the Children's Scholarship Fund are funding "private voucher programs" that send thousands of poor children to private schools without any government support; in Washington, D.C., a sixth of the eligible children applied. Home-schooling, the ultimate in educational privatization, has exploded in the Nineties. The typical home-schooling parent these days is likely to be motivated as much by academic as by religious or political scruples.



Cleveland and other locales in Ohio have pilot school-choice programs. Pennsylvania has twice come close to passing bills allowing such programs, and might succeed if other Democratic legislators are emboldened by Dwight Evans's example. Mayors Bret Schundler of Jersey City and Steve

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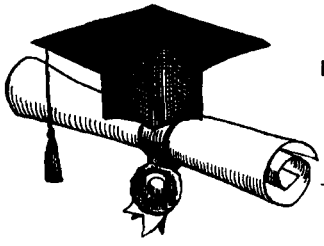

Top Schools

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Goldsmith of Indianapolis want vouchers; Giuliani and L.A.'s Richard Riordan are increasingly favorable. The Becket Fund, a group devoted to religious liberty, is challenging the "Blaine amendments," relics of anti-Catholic bigotry in several state constitutions that prohibit aid to parochial schools.

Clint Bolick of the Institute for Justice says, "I've been involved in this issue since the day I became a lawyer in 1982 and I have never seen more education-policy ferment on the conservative side than I am seeing right now. There are more strategy sessions and conferences on education scheduled for this fall than I can remember. Everyone wants to get their heads together and figure out what to do next because the terrain changes every day; the realm of the possible expands constantly."

NOT everyone is so optimistic. Myron Lieberman, chairman of the Education Policy Institute, complains that most voucher proposals are too restrictive: Milwaukee's program includes more than three hundred pages of regulations and excludes for-profit schools. "We have a lot of cosmetic choice plans, and some of them can't succeed. The pro-voucher side will be left holding the bag." And reforms have not yet gone far enough to raise the nation's mediocre educational achievement, which has not changed much since the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk*. Neoconservative education guru Chester E. Finn Jr. worries that "more and more kids are getting classified into special ed. every year. The last time I blinked my eye it was 8 per cent and now it's 12. A couple of states are up to 16 or 17 points."

Republicans, moreover, have sometimes shrunk the "education gap" between the parties by old-fashioned metooism. In 1997, Virginia Gov. Jim Gilmore neutralized his opponent's call for a pay raise for teachers only by promising instead to hire four thousand new teachers. Finn points out that the Republican chairmen of both education committees in Congress belong to the old guard: "I fear that they may end up giving more money to the bad old programs even than Clinton asked for, as they did last year." A test comes next year, when the bill that authorizes nearly seventy education programs comes up for renewal.

Nor do vouchers, by themselves, amount to an education platform, as a matter of either politics or policy. Says consultant Ralph Reed Jr., "The simple fact is 90 per cent of the American people educate their children in public schools, and all the polls I've seen show that even with universal vouchers 60 to 70 per cent of families would stay with public schools." Republicans need to have something to say to them, too.

And old guard and reformers alike, Republicans tend to talk about procedural and administrative issues—which level of government should do what, the proper role of markets, the evils of bureaucracy—rather than about the substance of what children are taught in classrooms, which is what parents and voters care about. The curricular back-to-basics message has been lost. Warns Kellyanne Fitzpatrick, "We have to be results-oriented and student-centered. Political parties will get a failing grade on education if parents are still fearful about random violence, and Johnny can't read and Sally can't add."

"I think [education] is a national issue," says Rep. Paxon. "It is not a national-government issue." Walking that line is going to be difficult. Bolick, for one, worries that conservatives will get sidetracked into fighting each other over national standards (which he opposes). Education may never become a signature Republican issue. Reed says, "Education is for Republicans what crime and welfare are for Democrats: you can never make it your issue but you can reduce the other side's natural advantage." And that has only begun to happen.

By and large, though, as Finn remarks, the Democrats remain the party of education producers, while Republicans are increasingly becoming the party of education consumers. And the movement for school choice is where the conservative movement as a whole was in 1980: after a generation of obscurity and defeat, it's enjoying its first halting victories. □

Equal Time

ANDREW PEYTON THOMAS

ALTHOUGH the polls say that education is the public's top concern, voters in Ohio recently made clear the limits of their generosity: no blank checks for the shakedown known as school "equalization."

Like courts in 17 other states, the Ohio Supreme Court had struck down the state's school-finance system and ordered the legislature to equalize funding for public schools. In a 1997 ruling, the court held that the school-finance system, by relying heavily on property taxes, creates inequalities, with students in the more affluent areas generally enjoying better facilities. In response, the Ohio General Assembly placed Issue 2 on the ballot. The measure proposed raising state sales taxes by $1.1 billion and earmarking half the revenue for the mandated "equalization." On May 5, 80 per cent of the voters rejected the measure.

Curiously, state courts that strike down school-finance systems rarely come in for significant criticism from any quarter. Typical was a recent *Wall Street Journal* editorial discussing the Ohio measure: "While the courts have likely overstepped their boundaries, they do have the last word." Conservative writers such as David Brooks and Clint Bolick have even seized upon such judicial upheaval as affording a ripe opportunity for advancing revolutionary changes in the public-school system.

Waging war on teachers unions and bloated school bureaucracies is a wholesome project, but injustice should not be overlooked in the process. These court rulings are tyrannical, and they are destroying school-finance systems that

Mr. Thomas is an attorney in Phoenix.

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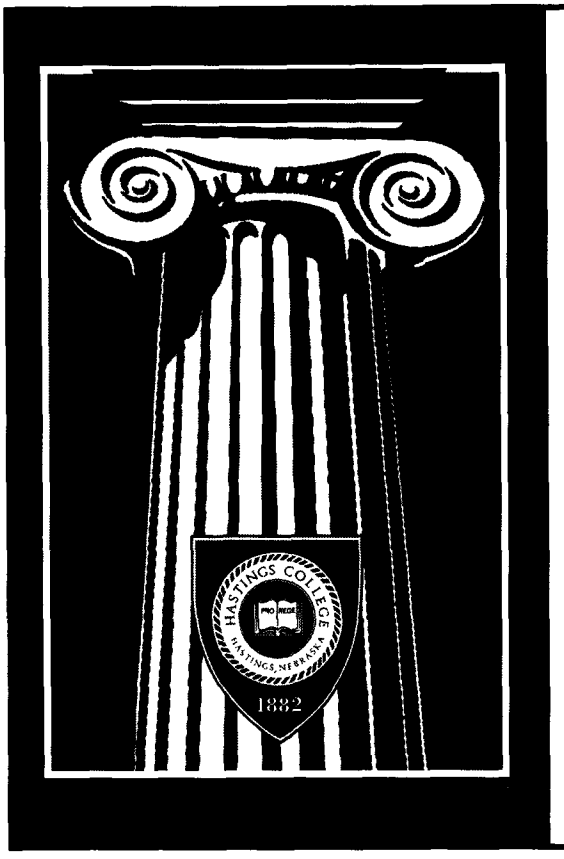

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have served some states literally since the founding of the Republic. State supreme courts in 18 states have declared their states' school-finance systems unconstitutional; another 18 states have seen their finance systems challenged but upheld. In other words, special interests seeking judicially ordered spending hikes for public schools have so far succeeded 50 per cent of the time.

BEHIND this trend is a judicial arrogance as striking as that of the Warren Court itself. The rulings in these 18 states have capriciously turned entire school systems upside-down. And unlike the case of the federal judicial system—where, for example, the Supreme Court in *Missouri* v. *Jenkins* overruled a federal judge's order requiring Missouri to increase taxes to pay for his latest desegregation plan—there is no curb on state supreme courts interpreting their own state constitutions. Since it is politically impossible to cut spending in more affluent districts to free up money for poorer districts, the upshot of these rulings is higher taxes.

The equalization cases began in the 1970s. In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court considered an appeal in a case challenging Texas's reliance on local property taxation for school financing. In *San Antonio Independent School District* v. *Rodriguez*, Justice Powell, writing for a 5 to 4 majority, said that such systems do not violate the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court held that "education, of course, is not among the rights afforded explicit protection under our Federal Constitution. Nor do we find any basis for saying it is implicitly so protected."

Rodriguez made clear that the equalization movement could not rely on the federal courts, but two years earlier the California Supreme Court had opened the way for a state-by-state approach. That court ruled in *Serrano* v. *Priest* that California's school-finance system violated the Fourteenth Amendment. In a follow-up case, the California court admitted that *Rodriguez* had undermined its ruling in *Serrano*. But it promptly switched to relying on the equal-protection clause of the state constitution, which was off limits to federal reversal.

Other state supreme courts likewise have combed through their states' constitutions in search of language capable of justifying equalization requirements. The language has ranged from equal-protection clauses, as in California, to provisions requiring an "efficient" school system (Texas, Kentucky) or a "thorough and efficient" school system (Ohio, New Jersey), to ones simply affirming the state's duty to provide "free public schools" (Missouri) or "to cherish . . . public schools" (New Hampshire). The people of these states, accordingly, are being told that their school-finance systems, many of which are as old as their state constitutions, now suddenly violate those constitutions.

These court opinions are often as condescending and treacly as those by William Brennan or Thurgood Marshall—in fact, dissents by Brennan and Marshall are sometimes actually quoted. In *Edgewood Independent School District* v. *Meno*, the Texas Supreme Court ended its opinion by quoting Marshall's dissenting opinion in *Rodriguez*. The court asserted that because of the legislature's inaction, "countless children unjustifiably receive inferior educations that 'may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.'"

In New Jersey, the state supreme court has micromanaged the school system for the last 25 years. The court's sociological masterpiece was its 1990 opinion in *Abbott* v. *Burke*, which held that the state had run afoul of its constitution because urban students "are not being educated." The court continued: "This substantial segment of our population is isolated in a separate culture, in a society they see as rich and poor, for to the urban poor, all other classes are rich. There is despair, and sometimes bitterness and hostility." This sermon was delivered to a state that, as the court conceded in its opinion, spends "more dollars per student for education than almost any other state."

All these rulings boil down to judicial attempts to obtain more money for public education.

In 1994 the Tennessee Supreme Court signed off on much of the legislature's attempt to address the court's school-finance ruling. However, the court withheld its imprimatur in *Tennessee Small School Systems* v. *McWherter* because the legislature failed to raise teachers' salaries in underprivileged school districts. (Cynics will wonder who needs the National Education Association when a court will give the unions' demands the force of law.)

In 1993, the New Hampshire Supreme Court struck down the most localized school-finance system in the nation. The court held that the state was violating an amorphous constitutional duty "to cherish the interest of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries and public schools" (seminaries were conveniently left out of the ensuing analysis). Acknowledging that New Hampshire's school-finance system had existed since the infancy of the Republic itself, the court nevertheless used a Massachusetts Supreme Court opinion as sufficient precedent for overturning the system. The Massachusetts constitution, the New Hampshire court noted, has a "nearly identical provision regarding education"—and, for some reason never fully explained, the Granite State was obliged to follow the jurisprudential lead of its liberal neighbor to the south.

All these rulings, of course, boil down to judicial attempts to obtain more money for public education. The judges evidently have not picked up one of the signal lessons of public policy over the last three decades: money does not guarantee educational success. It is a stubborn fact that while education spending rose almost 600 per cent

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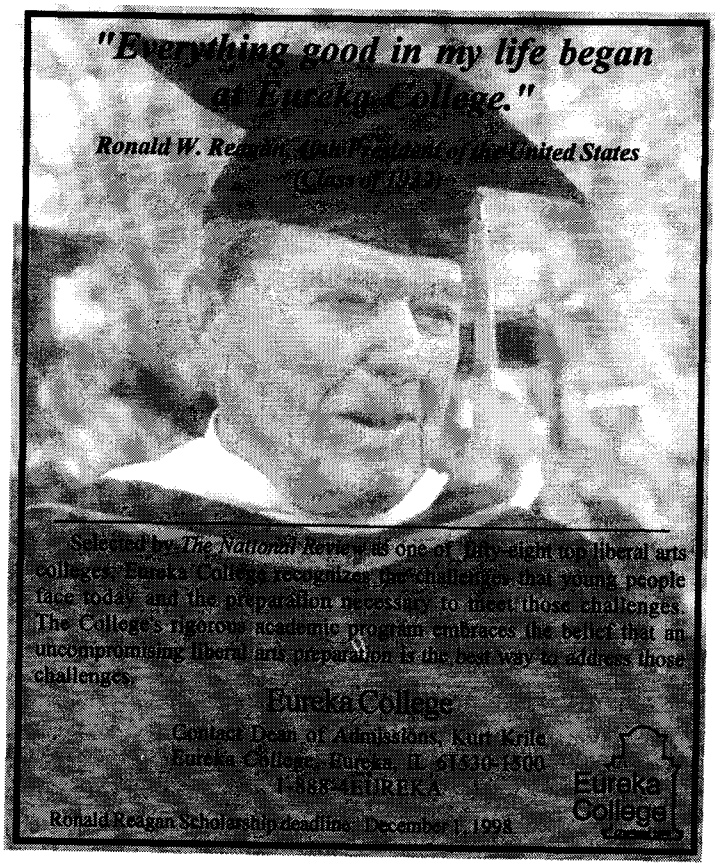

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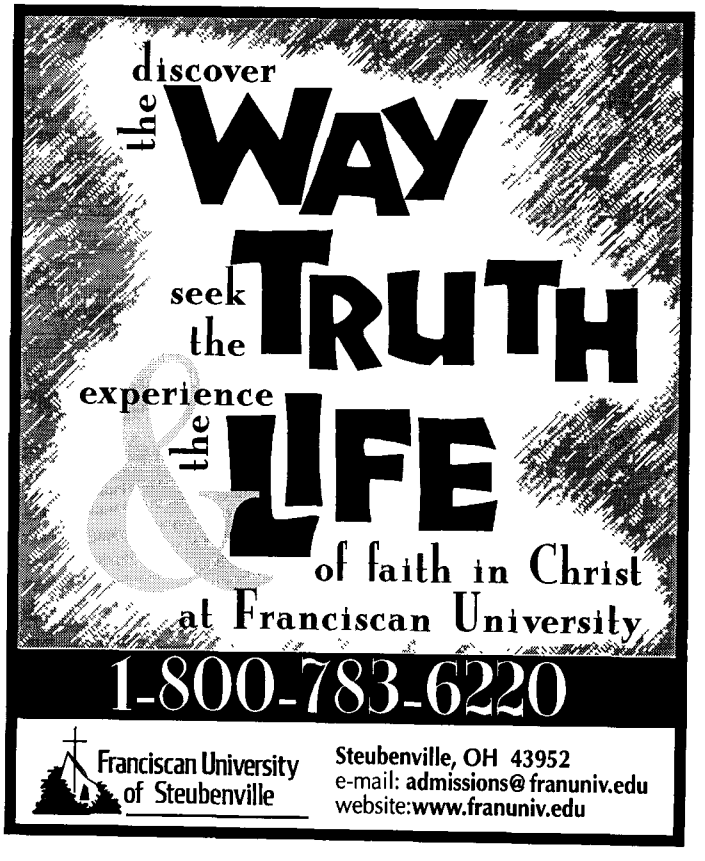

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nationally between 1972 and 1997, SAT scores actually declined by 2 per cent. Indeed, on average, students in the top five states in per-pupil expenditure (Alaska, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island) fare worse on the SAT than students in the bottom five states (Utah, Arizona, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Mississippi).

Nor is there any evidence that greater state control over school funding improves educational performance. In fact, the evidence suggests that students in states with greater *local* control do better. Students in the five states with the highest percentage of state contribution to education spending (Hawaii, Washington, Kentucky, Alabama, Delaware) have lower average SAT scores than students in the five states with the highest percentage of local contribution (New Hampshire, South Dakota, Vermont, Michigan, Virginia). Local accountability works.

Having seen the public grow cool to judicial activism in many areas (criminals' rights, abortion, etc.), judges with an activist streak have nonetheless concluded that the public will put up with their excesses in the name of education. Until the recent vote in Ohio, there was little evidence that they had concluded wrongly. Those who care about controlling government spending, defending the rule of law, and safeguarding local control of education must denounce equalization rulings without compromise. To do otherwise is to enter a Faustian bargain with judges whose pet causes have nothing to do with improving education. □

Not Home Alone

ISABEL LYMAN

ALEXANDRA Swann, an attractive 27-year-old who resides in Anthony, New Mexico, could qualify as the poster girl of the homeschooling movement. Twenty-two years ago, Joyce Swann, Alexandra's mother, armed only with a high-school diploma and the Calvert School's elementary-school correspondence curriculum, decided to be her child's first-grade teacher. Ten years later, Alexandra, at age 16, had earned a master's degree in history from California State University's external-degree program. At age 18, she was hired to teach Western civilization at El Paso Community College. Today, she runs a mortgage-and-loan business with her father, John Swann.

But Alexandra isn't the sole star of her family—seven of her nine siblings have master's degrees. That these scholarly feats were accomplished when the homeschooling movement was barely a blip on the educational-reform screen makes the Swanns' success all the more remarkable. "Twenty years ago we didn't know anyone who homeschooled. There was a concern we would become vegetables, unable to function in society," recalls Alexandra.

When the Home School Legal Defense Association in Virginia was founded by Michael Farris in 1983 to defend parents' right to direct the education of their children, only a hundred families joined up. That number has since grown to over 55,000. "Fifteen years ago, homeschooling was a criminal act in a majority of the states. Now it's legal in all fifty states," says Scott Somerville, one of six attorneys on the HSLDA's staff.

Contrast those beginnings with the environment in which Bob and Belinda Nalette of Midlothian, Virginia, have homeschooled Chyrelle, 10, and Josiah, 8. Belinda, a 38-year-old soccer mom and her children's teacher, praises Midlothian's school officials as being "supportive and positive" toward homeschoolers. The Nalettes are one of nearly five hundred families who are active with the Richmond Regional Home Educators. The group draws homeschoolers of all

Mrs. Lyman, who has written on homeschooling for the Cato Institute, lives in Amherst, Mass., where she homeschools her two sons.

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stripes, and volunteers organize a staggering number of activities, including a band, gymnastics and karate classes, a yearbook, and a yearly graduation ceremony for seniors.

Once, homeschoolers were largely members of the Religious Right (who homeschooled primarily to teach their children fundamentalist Bible doctrine) and of the countercultural Left (who disliked the bureaucratization of modern education). Now a broad array of Americans homeschool, and support networks exist for a variety of groups, ranging from those who are disabled to those who have a multicultural bent to those who are pursuing a medieval model of education, the trivium.

In addition, a new cadre of religious folks are homeschooling: Jews who emphasize a Torah-centered education; Muslims who dislike the integration of the sexes in public schools; Catholics who are following Pope John Paul II's advice that "parents must be acknowledged as the first and foremost educators of their children"; and Eastern Orthodox whose faith puts them at odds with the materialism and humanism found in government schooling.

New technologies, such as online courses, have made homeschooling attractive to the less ideologically inclined, especially those parents who have come to view their local schools as dangerous places. Consider the results of the Florida Department of Education's 1996 survey of 2,245 homeschoolers. Of the 31 per cent who responded, 42 per cent said that dissatisfaction with the public-school environment (violence, drugs, adverse peer pressure) was their reason for establishing a home education program. Given those concerns, it's not surprising that the number of homeschoolers continues to grow. "My official estimate is that there were 1.1 to 1.5 million students in grades K through 12 homeschooled during the 1997–98 school year," says Dr. Brian Ray, president of the National Home Education Research Institute of Oregon. "Ten years ago that number was about 200,000 to 300,000."

'There were 1.1 to 1.5 million students in grades K through 12 homeschooled during the 1997–98 school year.'

But the most successful grassroots educational movement of the century is not without its growing pains. In one corner are the "unschoolers," who prefer a relaxed, child-directed approach to learning, and in the other are the traditionalists, who favor a "school at home" approach that sticks to a daily schedule and pre-packaged curriculum.

There are two ongoing disagreements between the factions. One involves heavenly matters. Evangelical Christians, who are partial to the "school at home" method, have formed support groups which sometimes require members to subscribe to a "statement of faith." The well-organized Christian Home Educators of Colorado, for example, posts on its website the statements that the Bible is the "inspired and infallible word of God" and that "salvation is offered as a free gift to the sinner." These formulations can alienate non-believers, and also non-evangelical believers.

Patrick Farenga, publisher of the magazine *Growing Without Schooling*, does not like to mix homeschooling know-how with matters of faith. "We believe religion

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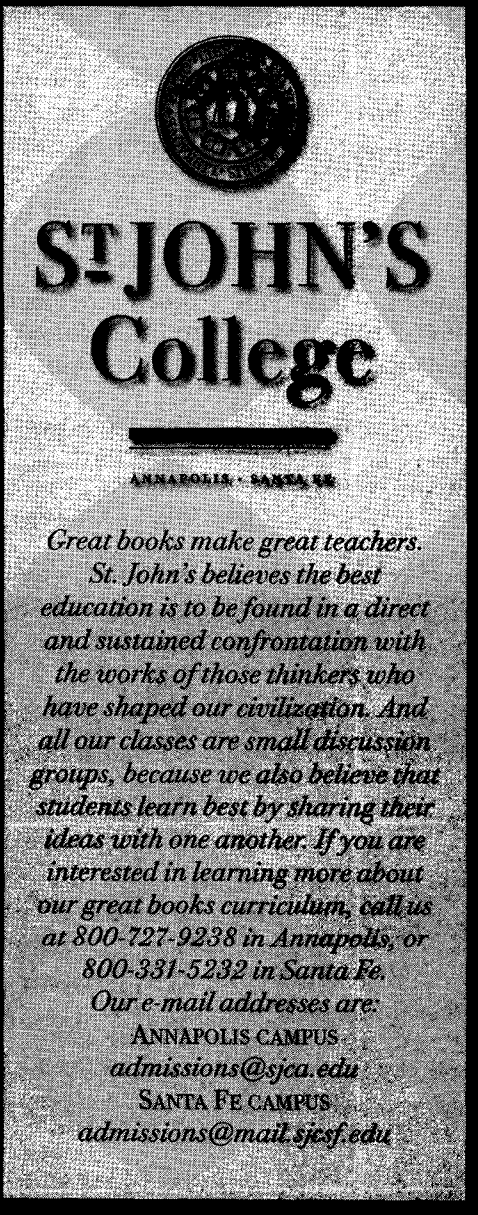
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and politics are your business, not ours," says Farenga. Alexandra Swann, a self-described fundamentalist Christian, agrees: "We should be working with all people, sharing our experiences, whether their faith agrees with ours or not."

The second difference is that traditional-minded home educators are uncomfortable with the unschoolers' laissez-faire attitude. Last year in Amherst, Massachusetts, the school superintendent publicly expressed disappointment with the quality and quantity of work submitted by a sizeable number of secondary-level homeschooled students. The students were affiliated with a homeschooling group called The Pathfinder Learning Center. The center tends to downplay the role of parents in providing direct instruction; instead, it encourages hands-on learning, traveling, and schmoozing with other homeschoolers at its facility, which acts as a teen drop-in center.

Traditional homeschoolers, who spend long hours working with their children and create detailed lesson plans, were worried about the potential fallout. One parent was quoted in the local paper as saying, "The very definition of home education is that education will take place in the home. It requires parent involvement and requires a huge parent commitment."

But such disagreements are natural in a movement that has taken its place in the mainstream and now includes parents with diverse motivations and methods. Such are the hazards of growing up. □

Singles

CHRISTINE B. WHELAN

WHEN 14-year-old Cydnee Couch was in an ordinary public school in New York City, she tried hard to keep up with her schoolwork, but it was a losing battle. The boys' spitballs, incessant chatter, and frequent tugs on her ponytail were constant distractions. Then, at the beginning of seventh grade, she transferred to the Young Women's Leadership School, a newly started all-girls charter public school in East Harlem, and she immediately noticed the difference. "I can concentrate," she says.

While opponents of single-sex education claim that the benefits are unproven, students like Cydnee are testimony to its value for the girls and boys who choose it. A grassroots push for single-sex public-school education is under way across the country. Several states are experimenting with single-sex classrooms, with New York and California taking the lead.

But the schools have faced not only educationist opposition but also legal challenges. The National Organization

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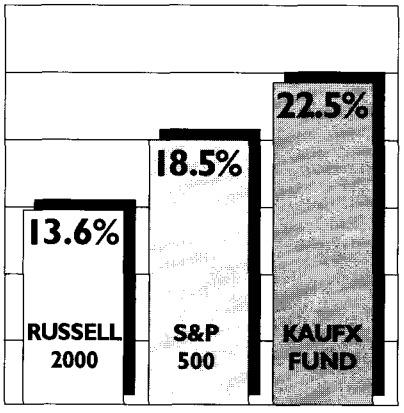

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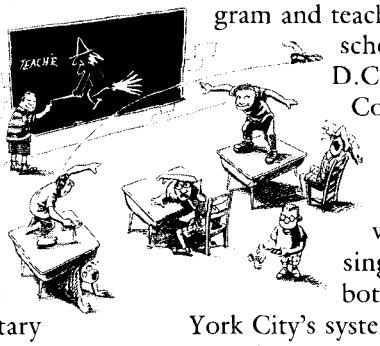
for Women and the American Civil Liberties Union don't want public-school kids to have the option of single-sex education. They say students are hurt, not helped, by single-sex classrooms, and that separate schooling for boys and girls is unconstitutional—that it violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. For these lobbies, separation by sex is as inherently unequal as separation by race.

In fact, the case for single-sex schooling does not depend on anecdotal evidence like Cydnee's. Scores of studies worldwide have shown that girls in single-sex high schools demonstrate a significantly higher rate of improvement on reading-achievement and science-aptitude tests between sophomore and senior years than their co-educated peers. And boys who attend single-sex high schools have higher self-confidence, are more involved in extracurricular activities, and take more foreign languages and English classes than their counterparts in co-ed schools.

If parents want to send their children to single-sex academies, why shouldn't they have that choice?

Important as these findings are, they are secondary to the real issue: freedom. If parents want to send their children to single-sex academies, why shouldn't they have that choice?

Whether our current courts would rule this form of school choice constitutional is an open question; the issue has not come before the Supreme Court in just that way. The Fourteenth Amendment says no person may be denied the "equal protection of the laws," and *Brown* v. *Board of Education* held that separate cannot be equal in the public schools when race is the division line. But the courts have never treated sexual classifications as demanding the "strict scrutiny" afforded to racial classifications.



Brown was based on sociological studies which found that single-race schooling inherently hurts black educational achievement and thus produces inequality. Those findings have later been persuasively disputed even when race is the issue. And as we have seen, sexual segregation has been shown to produce superior results for many students of both sexes.

Detractors cite the recent Supreme Court decision ordering the all-male Virginia Military Institute to admit women as proving that sexual segregation in educational settings is unconstitutional. But the VMI case, whatever the wisdom of the outcome, involved a set of circumstances that does not apply in most instances of single-sex education. The Court ruled that no comparable school could be created for women, and that no justification for VMI's all-male status that the school's administrators had been able to produce outweighed that fact.

These conditions do not apply at most of the single-sex charter schools sprouting across the country. In California, pairs of schools—one for girls, the other for boys—have now been started in pilot districts. These partner schools receive equal funding, staffing, equipment, facilities, and books. Some districts get an overwhelming response for the all-boys schools—in one area, a hundred boys and seven girls applied for the pair of programs—while in other districts the ratio is reversed. This is not a mark of inequality. Furthermore, with both schools opening their doors simultaneously, neither has the advantage over the other of a decades-old reputation. The districts are scrupulous in seeing that neither is better established or better endowed. And, once again, the important thing is that the students and parents have been enabled to decide what type of education best suits their needs.

While each school district should be allowed to find what method works best for its children, probably the ideal system would consist of an all-boys school, an all-girls school, and a coeducational school. That ought to answer any possible objection to single-sex education under the Court's current reading of the Fourteenth Amendment, as well as any parents' objections to doing away with the sort of coeducational schooling they grew up with.

SINGLE-SEX education is far from an untested innovation. Although many of the private schools catering to the affluent have recently chosen to follow the public-school trend toward coeducation, such schools were traditionally single-sex. A mere 1 per cent of all schools are sexually segregated today, but recent enrollment numbers show these percentages are on the rise.

NOW and the ACLU, however, did not fly into action until the the less well-off started to follow the affluent up the ladder to educational accomplishment. The Young Women's Leadership School, which Cydnee Couch attends, is a public school that unabashedly takes its program and teaching ideas from Manhattan's elite private schools. It offers class trips to Washington, D.C., and summer programs at Smith College—unlike the City's other public schools, but similar to Brearley and Chapin.

But NOW and the ACLU are not all wrong. Full choice means the option of a single-sex public-school environment for both girls *and* boys; as it stands now, New York City's system fills only half the bill. No boys' public school exists. While NOW and the ACLU want to close the Young Women's Leadership School, the real answer is to open a Young Men's Leadership School. This will be costly, but less so than investing more money in a faulty system.

For Cydnee Couch and many other students, single-sex education is the right choice, a choice that allows them to concentrate on their studies rather than the opposite sex. Supporters of the Young Women's Leadership School should realize that to keep their first born alive, a younger brother is necessary. □

Miss Whelan is a senior at Princeton University.

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Hoax Crimes

JON SANDERS

AT Duke University last November, a group of students hanged from a tree a black doll bearing a sign that read "Duke hasn't changed." They also covered with black paint the nearby Class of 1948 granite bench. The site of the mock lynching was the gathering place for members of the Black Student Alliance, who had been planning a protest outside the office of Duke President Nan Keohane.

The identities of the perpetrators—evidently white racists—were unknown for nearly a week, and the campus reaction to the incident was one of horror and dismay. The *Chronicle*, Duke's student newspaper, published a letter from undergraduate Stephen Poon denouncing the episode as a "racial crime." Members of the BSA claimed that it showed how tense race relations were on campus.

Several days later the truth was out: the perpetrators were not racist whites, but blacks looking to create an impression of racism on campus. Instead of being condemned, the guilty parties were unconditionally defended by their ideological kin: "The idea behind the act," wrote Worokya Diomande in the *Chronicle*, "is being overlooked (as is usually the case). The University has not changed. Blacks are allowed to be enrolled here, but the idea is the equivalent of the transition from field slave to house slave."

There is a new trend on college campuses: not of hate crimes, but of students and faculty creating make-believe racist and anti-gay incidents to illustrate, as the phrase goes, "that hate could happen here," and of students, faculty, and administrators using the fictional crimes as "evidence" of the urgency of their multicultural agenda.

At Eastern New Mexico University, threatening posters started appearing around campus last September. "Are you sick of queers polluting this great land with there [*sic*] filth?" asked the error-ridden fliers. "I thought so. Want to do something? Join the Fist of God. With his might, we can ride [*sic*] the world of there [*sic*] sickness. Ask around. We'll find you." The poster identified eight people on campus as homosexual and concluded: "Take us seriously, or we'll begin executing one queer a week following this list."

The four men and four women listed soon received threatening e-mail messages and letters. Shortly after the posters appeared, the person whose name topped the list, a lesbian teaching assistant named Miranda Prather, was attacked in her home. She told police a masked assailant had slashed her cheek with a kitchen knife.

In the ensuing investigation, police examined surveillance footage of a nearby laundromat where the threatening fliers had been posted. Their search was ultimately successful, and they were able to identify the culprit as . . . Miranda Prather. Later, they found a knife in Miss Prather's apartment that matched the wounds in her cheek.

As in the Duke case, however, no one seemed to care that the "hate crime" was a hoax. Elizabeth Jarnagin, an editorial writer for the *Amarillo Globe-News*, continued to decry anti-gay bigotry. "Let me tell you about polluting with filth," Miss Jarnagin intoned to the poster-writer, *after* Prather had been exposed. "Hatred is polluting with filth. Instilling terror is polluting with filth. Bigotry is polluting with filth. . . . Few of us are as blatant about it as the Fist of God. Yet hatred and intolerance are there."

At the University of Georgia, this year, resident advisor Jerry Kennedy found the door of his dormitory room on fire. Everyone concluded that a bigot had been responsible: Kennedy was openly homosexual, and his door was covered with gay-activist literature. The Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Student Union sent a letter to University President Michael Adams asking him to address the incident by creating a hate-crime task force and obtaining a faculty advisor for the LGBSU. Meanwhile, LGBSU members wrote messages in chalk around the Tate Student Center, including "Stop burning down our doors" and "Are you next?"

As in the Duke case, no one seemed to care that the 'hate crime' was a hoax.

The attacks on Kennedy, meanwhile, did not stop. After the third time his door was set afire, Kennedy said he thought it was "strange that somebody, in order to get to me, would risk the lives of at least five hundred people [in the dormitory]." Asked what he thought of the LBGSU's response, Kennedy said, "It makes me feel like I'm doing the right thing, and I appreciate the support."

Shortly thereafter, the official student newspaper the *Red & Black* learned that Kennedy had been the target of 9 of the 15 hate crimes reported on campus since 1995—not just the fires, but threatening phone calls and incidents of criminal trespassing. The head of the campus police said: "He's certainly had more [harassment] than anyone else I've known of." Kennedy was arrested and charged with two counts of arson and four false reports of a crime, and a student who had been suspected of setting one of the fires was exonerated. A faculty member, dealing in race discrimination told the *Red and Black* that she "hoped the Kennedy case would not hinder dialogue about homosexuality."

At Guilford College, a Quaker school in Greensboro, N.C., the president of the Student Senate, Molly Martin, was assaulted in her office late one night in February. Her assailant knocked her unconscious, opened her blouse, and wrote "nigger lover" on her chest. Miss Martin refused medical attention and asked campus security not to call the police.

The attack occurred a week after anonymous letters and

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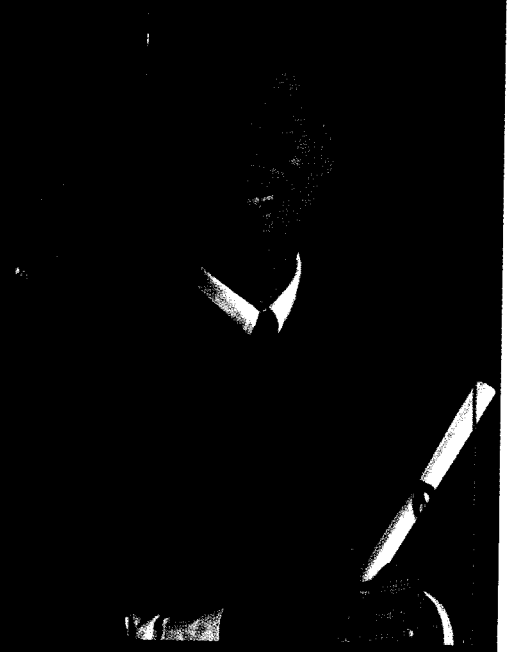

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fliers criticizing Miss Martin had begun to appear. Miss Martin had appointed two black students to the Senate, and fliers warned students not to vote for her unless she promised an all-black Senate. She had also led the Senate the previous semester in endorsing a proposal for the creation of a full-time director of African-American affairs at the college, whose student body of thirteen thousand includes about ninety blacks.

The incident was proof to some that the college had strained race relations. "Guilford students weren't ready to start dealing with the issues we were presenting," Edward LaMont Williams, president of the college's African-American Cultural Society, told *The Chronicle of Higher Education Daily News*, "but the incident made the campus realize that racism is a real issue on campus that needs to be dealt with."

Along with increasing security, the college pledged to hasten its selection of a director of African-American affairs, inaugurate a series of dialogues on race relations, and make changes to the curriculum to include issues of race.

Meanwhile, speculation arose that Miss Martin had staged the attack herself. The police could not recreate the incident satisfactorily. Miss Martin had never shown anyone the alleged writing on her chest or damage to her office; she said she had cleaned things up before going to campus security. Although she had supposedly been knocked unconscious, she did not exhibit any bruising; and police said it would be very unusual for an assailant in such a case to unbutton the victim's blouse instead of ripping it or pulling it down to write on her chest.

In June, Miss Martin withdrew from the school. She sent an open letter to the campus apologizing "for acts that were inappropriate and that were injurious." She was referring to her inability to perform her duties properly as Student Senate president; she did not admit to any wrongdoing concerning the alleged attack.

Meanwhile, Guilford College plans to continue to address race relations by revising the curriculum, hiring more minority faculty, and even founding an institute on race relations. On American campuses, where it is assumed that our country is soaked through with bias, any hate crime will do—even if it never happened. □

A Conservative Party

AVIK ROY

ON a crisp autumn evening, some of the nation's brightest undergraduates file into a mahogany-paneled hall, where they take turns holding forth on the topic "Resolved, That Liberty Has More Value than Life." Dead white males from Socrates to Patrick Henry are scrutinized for insights. At lunch the next day, a leading authority on Leo Strauss engages the students in an exploration of Aristotle's *Ethics*. The scent of pipe smoke fills the air. And Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* is required reading for the next week's dinner discussions.

At this point, most conservatives would expect to be rudely awakened by their alarm clocks, wistfully chasing away their dreams of an academic world in which the monuments of Western thought are cherished. And yet this dream is reality at Yale University, and like-minded collegians elsewhere are taking notes.

By a combination of historical accident and individual effort, there has arisen at Yale a conservative subculture teeming with life, as if an acre of tropical rainforest had sprouted in Antarctica. Conservatism at Yale is embodied by more than a dozen student organizations, each resembling a kind of political fraternity, with its own distinctive ethos. The feeling of embattled isolation, which can be overwhelming for many conservative students, is nearly absent in New Haven.

By a combination of historical accident and individual effort, there has arisen at Yale a conservative subculture.

Even more striking than the quantity of conservatism at Yale is its intellectual quality. Most notable in this regard is the Conservative Party, a debating society which anachronistically holds that "reflection upon the world's greatest thinkers is the necessary precursor of statesmanship." Members of the Party—the men attired in suits, the women in suits or dresses—gather weekly for spirited debates in which philosophical, historical, and cultural topics are exuberantly investigated. Party members meet nightly for dinners where a passage of the *Odyssey* is as probable a topic of conversation as the day's political news.

The CP helps its members gain a thorough grounding in the Western tradition by advising them on course selection and by exposing them to authors not found in the Yale curriculum. According to Party chairman Sarah A. Maserati, "By the end of freshman year, Party members are expected to have taken a course in classical Western philosophy and to have read Richard Weaver's *Ideas Have Consequences*, Michael Oakeshott's *Rationalism in Politics*, and Russell Kirk's *The Roots of American Order*." Each Friday, the CP hosts its Sir Thomas More Lecture: lunch at a private club, after which a Party member or visiting scholar leads a discussion on an academic subject of interest.

The Party's frequent gatherings forge strong friendships, fortifying Party members to withstand the surrounding multicultural torrent. And since those members range from Christian democrats to agnostic theocrats, with everything in between, they feel free to be themselves. Indeed, many view the CP as the model of how an erudite conservative minority can thrive on a liberal campus. "Most political associations—including those at Harvard—limit themselves to questions of policy," says Harvard senior C. Thomas Brown. "The CP goes beyond that, challenging [liberal] assumptions . . . at a more fundamental level." Plans are

Mr. Roy is a student at the Yale University School of Medicine.

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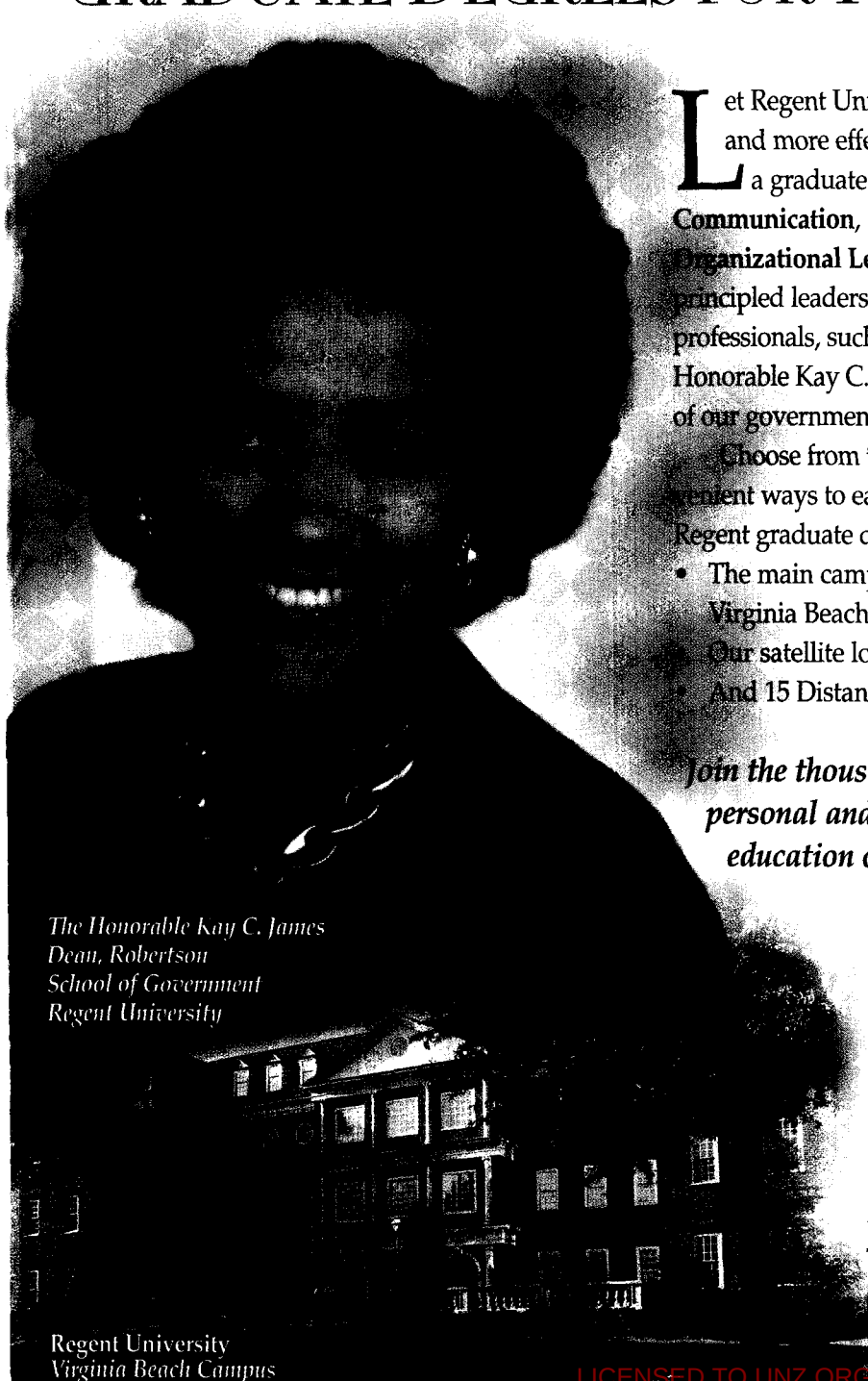

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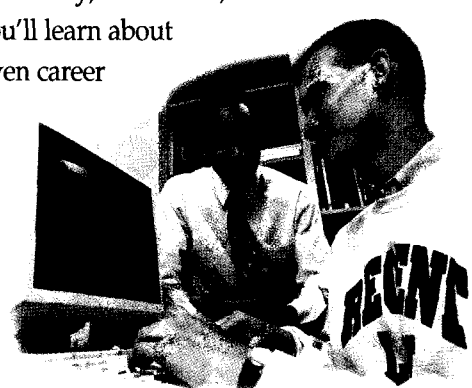

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under way for a Crimson chapter of the Conservative Party; additional provinces may follow.

The CP selects its members by an intense process in which applicants' views are cross-examined for flaws and contradictions. "The problem with most conservative politicians is that they retreat from criticism," says Party officer Matthew Medearis. "No one graduates from the Conservative Party with that problem, because it is far tougher to defend one's philosophy inside the Party than outside it."

Conservative activists have flourished in the rainforest. One student successfully lobbied Congress to ban university discrimination against ROTC programs. *Light & Truth*, a student journal, gained national attention for discovering Yale's misuse of the $20-million Bass Grant for Western Civilization. Study groups and debating clubs cater to prolifers, Anglophiles, Objectivists, and Southerners. Anyone disenchanted with political correctness can find his niche.

Yale was once well known for producing Republican and conservative leaders: Henry Luce, William Scranton, and Robert Taft led the pre–World War II Conservative Party; Brent Bozell, William F. Buckley Jr., and Edwin Meese led the CP of the Fifties. But the achievement of today's Yale conservatives is possibly even more impressive, when denizens of the counterculture are broadly in command of campus life. Indeed, there might not be a better choice for the tradition-minded students than Yale, where God and Man still stand a fighting chance. □

Greek Ruins

TRACY LEE SIMMONS

A SPEECHWRITER for Vice President George Bush once prepared a stump speech peppered with a bit of Thucydides, a Greek historian of the fifth century B.C. But after the Vice President tripped over the name one time too many, another staffer decided to avoid further embarrassment by drawing a line through the word and writing in "Plato." One dead Greek was as good as another, and who would know the difference?

Who indeed? Once a common possession of the well educated, classical knowledge now bobs like flotsam amid the wreckage wrought by a century of educational scuttling. In 1962, 700,000 American high-school students were taking Latin; by 1985, that number had dropped to 176,000. Consequently, classical studies in higher education have suffered. Out of more than a million BAs awarded in 1994, only six hundred went to classics majors. And these figures tell only a portion of the story. For with the passing of Greek and Latin we have lost part of the soul of our civilization.

Our Founding Fathers saw in education the key to national prosperity, both as an insurance policy against political tyranny and as an investment for worldly success—although even then dissenters disputed the premium placed upon classics. Benjamin Rush, a physician and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, dallied in 1789 with the idea of a Federal University built on a new model. "While the business of education in Europe consists in lectures upon the ruins of Palmyra and the antiquities of Herculaneum," Rush wrote, "the youth of America will be employed in acquiring those branches of knowledge which increase the conveniences of life, lessen human misery, improve our country, promote population, exalt the human understanding, and establish domestic, social, and political happiness." Expelled from the new university, therefore, would be those "tyrants" of the old curriculum, Greek and Latin, along with their cornucopia of poetry, drama, history, and philosophy, which had nourished minds and spirits for centuries. Rush's proposal sounds a modern note, confirming a cherished view we hold of ourselves as makers of a novus ordo seclorum (a new order of the ages).

Yet most educated men of the colonial and Federal era were not beguiled by this rash form of cultural independence. Thomas Jefferson wrote to his grandson, just setting out for college, "Your Latin and Greek should be kept up assiduously." John Adams, keeping close tabs on the education of his sons, wrote to young John Quincy in 1780: "My wish at present is that your principal attention should be directed to the Latin and Greek tongues." "I hope soon to hear," he added, "that you are in Virgil and [Cicero's] orations, or Ovid, or Horace, or all of them." And Jefferson and Adams were not mere savants; they typified their class and generation. Greek and Latin furnished their minds, formed their taste, and perfected their style. Allusions to Greeks and Romans run as a constant motif in colonial correspondence and public documents.

Classical education continued to define the standard curriculum for the elite through most of the nineteenth century as well—although, in proper American fashion, plenty of others joined them in aspiring to pry open its vast treasure trove. James Garfield took his early education at a modest school in Ohio where he drank heady draughts of Homer, Herodotus, Livy, Tacitus, and Virgil; it was said that, years later, the ambidextrous Garfield, on hearing a sentence in English, could translate it onto paper, one hand into Greek, the other into Latin. Theodore Roosevelt, the quintessentially American man of action, is said to have maintained his Greek and Latin reading amid trust-busting and big-game hunting till the end of his life.

Why were generations of students made to suffer the inky travails of learning two difficult languages they would never speak? With concerns about education figuring prominently in the public mind today, we might well ask. After all, if another Constitutional Convention were convened next year, it's not at all clear that the current generation could bring to the chamber the same blend of practicality and learned wisdom—or want of cliché and jargon—that armed the delegates at Philadelphia in 1787.

Mr. Simmons is the author of the forthcoming book Climbing Parnassus, *a defense of classical education.*

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Al Gore's inability to translate E Pluribus Unum might then be the least of our worries.

Classical education has always signified more than Greek and Latin. The two languages secured the basis for a humanistic training, being the necessary preconditions to access to Greek and Roman writings. But they were means, not ends; the text was the thing. Implicit in classics was the Virgilian dictum of *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*:

Once a classical education could be rejected; now it can't even be described.

Fortunate the man who can understand the causes of things. A classical education conferred full citizenship of the West, forcing its students to plumb the depths of their origins and tap into the vigor of their civilization, to understand it from within by the direct witness of men and women who had presided over its beginnings.

Classics as a discipline, in fact, reigned as the queen of the "humanities" before they became soft, soulless, and politicized—when, in other words, they were still the exacting study of man and his achievements. Classical study opened the student's eyes to another world both like and unlike his own, affording him multiple images of the noble and the good. It supplied him with a lifetime of historical exempla, philosophical axioms, and phrases that shone like gemstones and lent poignancy and éclat to the world he knew.

It is no accident, then, that so many who gathered at Philadelphia to declare independence and a decade later to draft a constitution were men who had apprenticed themselves to Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Cicero, and who could debate at length on the various constitutional forms of the classical world before they chose one for the new American nation. We owe our very existence as a people in great part to classical learning.

But are classics useful today? Probably not, at least not useful by the lights of anyone prompted to ask the question. Like all humanistic learning, classics are not so much useful as they are *supra usum*, beyond use. The classical pursuit contributed not so much to bodily survival as to intellectual and spiritual sustenance—like scaling mountains or surmounting the Goldberg Variations. "To seek utility everywhere is most unsuitable to lofty and free natures," Aristotle observed. Or, as Emerson put it, the unchecked lust for utility "would abolish the rose and exalt in triumph the cabbage."

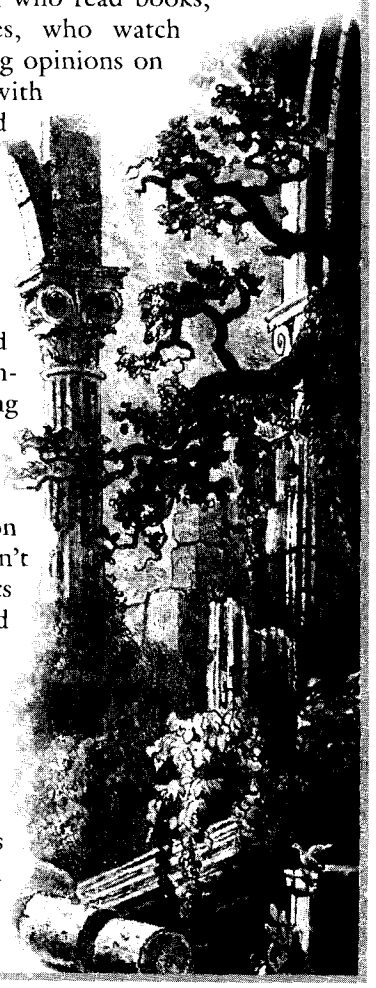
The best education isn't confined to the Three Rs; it instills the ineffable. In the words of Phillips Academy's Alfred Stearns, true education aims to develop a human being who is "something bigger and finer than a mere piece of mechanism designed to fit into place in a practical world but devoid of aspiration and idealism, bereft of vision and imagination, forever denied the privilege of tasting the things of the spirit which alone is life."

But what about the Rubicon of Greek and Latin? Why, in a time teeming with good translations, should anyone expend time and energy pounding paradigms, memorizing vocabulary, and mastering obscure points of syntax?

The short answer is intimacy. Classical knowledge does not consist only of discrete facts amenable to quick swallowing. Such knowledge is also freighted with thought and expression, exuberant and penetrating utterances not always easily rendered in another tongue. Imagine paraphrasing a poem by Keats or Shelley in contemporary lingo: we know instinctively that the result would be lacking. For literature isn't just ideas; it's sound and sense together. Epic and lyric poems are more than plot lines and naturalistic images; they're products of the human imagination which must be heard and felt in a certain manner.

Furthermore, long after proficiency with the languages had lapsed, the pains taken early on kept those who had learned them aware that words grant keys to the precincts of the mind. Reading or writing Latin is an exercise in brevity; not even the taut suppleness of Greek matches for economy the lapidary quality of the Roman tongue. Long exposure to its syntax may well account for some of the finest prose of yesterday, for even those who never had Latin inhabited a culture where its drive for the mot juste was felt and emulated.

The decline of classical studies leaves a vacuum within American culture which is more discomfitingly apparent every year. And the real loser is the educated public at large: the people who vote, who read books, newspapers, and magazines, who watch clever talking heads spouting opinions on cable news networks with exquisite inarticulation and then imitate them. The people, in short, who can't retain disciplined habits of expression because they never learned them. Perhaps the most telling legacy of the passing of Greek and Latin isn't the college freshman incapable of declining Latin nouns; it's the schoolteacher unable to distinguish *can* from *may*.



Once a classical education could be rejected; now it can't even be described. Yet classics still march under the tattered standard of hard learning. They are the fifth column of the last legion. "Classics, in spite of our friend Rush," Adams wrote to Jefferson, "I must think indispensable." "It sticks," Kipling's Mr. King says to Stalky. "A little of it sticks among the barbarians." □

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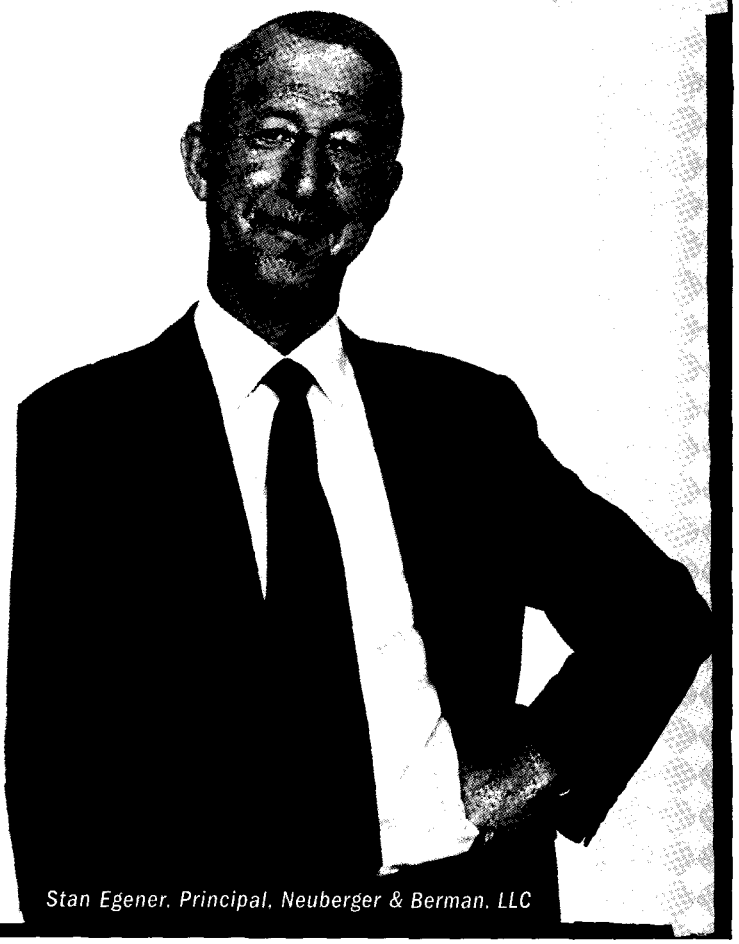

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THE WAY OUT

Money Madness

The Asian crisis will continue until Hong Kong and China devalue their currencies.

JOHN DIZARD

BACK in the middle of August, daytime CNBC addicts—who include many of the investing public—were being told that their world was on the brink of chaos, that Life as We Know It was at risk of being hit by a financial asteroid. The standard-issue doomsayers, all of them friends of mine, were being wheeled out and planted in front of studio cameras to comment on the imminent bear market.

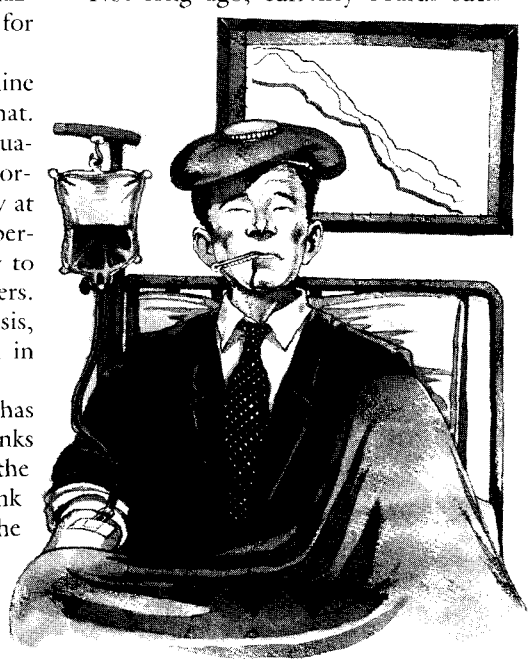
All this was prompted by a 10.1 per cent decline in the S&P 500 index. The S&P was still up by more then 12 per cent for the year, but so conditioned had investors become to a permanent bull market that a correction that was the equivalent of a summer-camp hazing was enough to make them cry for their mommies.

There was a real cause for the decline —the permabears were right about that. The market has cranked into its valuation measures the assumption that corporate earnings will continue to grow at double-digit rates, and instead the operating earnings on the S&P are likely to be nearly flat over the next few quarters. You can blame the Asian financial crisis, and the subsequent crash in growth in that third of the world economy.

Furthermore, the Asian crisis has turned into a continuing decline, thanks to the tight-money policies of the region's central banks, led by the Bank of Japan, the Bank of China, and the Hong Kong Monetary Authority. "How long can they stand the pain?" You hear that question all the time about central bankers who direct punitively restrictive monetary policies. The answer, of course, is: "A very long time indeed, because they aren't the ones who are feeling it." The central bankers are served their lunches on linen that is just as crisp as it was before the crisis; their cars pick them up and drop them off with the same efficiency; aides and legislators are just as deferential. Parties are actually more fun because the billionaires and even models really want to hear what they say.

Lately, speculators have focused on the Hong Kong authorities, who have kept the HK dollar pegged to the U.S. dollar at a ratio of 7.73 to 1 in the face of the regional financial crisis and a developing domestic depression. They have done this by keeping interest rates very high.

Not long ago, currency boards such as Hong Kong's were being touted in some quarters as the answer to emerging markets' needs for a quick credibility fix that would in turn lead to low interest rates and ready access to foreign capital. The concept is a simple one: the monetary authority issues local money—cash and demand deposits—only when it has sufficient reserves of some awe-inspiring foreign currency to redeem it at a fixed rate. Given this "peg," all you need to do in the event of redemption is raise short-term rates or allow the money supply to shrink. Over the long run, your willingness to allow this free convertibility will lead to interest rates that converge to the low levels prevailing in the big-brother currency.



Frederick H. Carlson

That's the idea. If you buy that simple chain of reasoning, then you will note that the Hong Kong authorities have foreign-exchange (mostly dollar) reserves sufficient to cover the monetary base four times over. Combined with high local interest rates, that should be enough to fend off the speculative attacks of New York hedge funds and their piratical followers.

But it isn't. The simple concept is adequate only for a simple economy, which Hong Kong's is not. In a low-tech colonial outpost, trade might be conducted with demand deposits and cash, but Hong Kong's wealth is heavily concentrated in the property market. That is financed by longer-term deposits, and the monetary authorities' reserves cover only 40 per cent of those. If depositors in local banks get spooked and start pulling their money out of banks, or if banks begin to fail because their loans are not seen to be good, then all of a sudden Hong Kong's 77 billion U.S. dollars in reserves look quite inadequate to the task.

And bank failures are probably not far off at the present rate of economic descent. Property loans are made at no more than 70 per cent of appraised value, but that was the appraised value of last year, and market values are now below that level. As they sink further, the banks find themselves in the position of going broke at first slowly, then very quickly. The higher cost of funding from the interest-rate rises doesn't help.

Why would the Hong Kong authorities persist in holding the peg in these circumstances? Why not abandon the peg, cut interest rates, and get the economy restarted? There is a rationale, though not one that will hold up for much longer. Hong Kong's costs are out of control, and the combination of the fixed currency and the depression in real-estate values has the effect of forcing outright cuts in wages and rents. Right now, the rents have come down about to domestic American levels,

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which in the context of Asia means they have a ways yet to go.

The other, increasingly shaky economic excuse is that Hong Kong's competitiveness as a financial center will be lost if the currency is seen as unstable. The U.S. somehow managed to retain some standing as a financial center even though its currency has never come back to the relative value it enjoyed in 1971. As for an inflationary threat, with a Consumer Price Index of 2.1 per cent, that is not today's problem. Of course central bankers not only prepare to fight the last war, they continue to fight it well into the next one.

The Hong Kong peg doesn't square too well with the idea of China's assuming sovereignty.

The other odd thing about the Hong Kong peg is that it doesn't square too well with the idea of China's assuming sovereignty. The Chinese make much of their independence, and yet here they are in part subjecting themselves to the day-to-day actions of the U.S. Federal Reserve. Seems contradictory, no?

China, though, has had its eye on a longer-term goal. It wants to get Taiwan back, preferably without a fight. The "one country, two systems" pitch that it sold—at the time successfully—to Hong Kong has been amended to "one country, three systems" to attract the Taiwanese. To that end, the Chinese were prepared to allow the United States' role in Hong Kong to continue. Not forever, of course. Just until sometime in 1999, when the Hong Kong dollar would be pegged to the Chinese renmenbi. That would be coincidental with a gentle devaluation of the Chinese currency, and after a successful Chinese entry into the World Trade Organization.

This plan is not working out quite the way it was supposed to. The closer linkage to Hong Kong has allowed Chinese savers, investors, and businessmen to pump money out of China through Hong Kong. That, and not just the depreciation of the Japanese yen, is what is pushing China into devaluation talk.

This has got not only the world markets, but also the Clinton Administration in a panic. At one of his recent fundraising dinners in the Hamptons, President Clinton sat next to Jon Corzine, the head of Goldman, Sachs, within earshot of a friend of mine. Clinton talked obsessively about two topics: how to persuade Robert Rubin to stay on as Secretary of the Treasury, and how to keep the Chinese from devaluing their currency. Like the CNBC people, Mr. Clinton seemed to think that life as we know it would come to an end if the latter were to happen, and that only dramatic reforms on the part of the Japanese could avert the threat.

Clinton is echoing what he hears from the economic-policy elite. And they're wrong. The irony is that while the usual commentators are all wrinkling their brows over a Hong Kong/Chinese devaluation leading to a depression, the opposite would be the case. When it happens—and the odds are 50 per cent by the end of the year and 95 per cent by February—that could well be the trigger for another U.S. stock-

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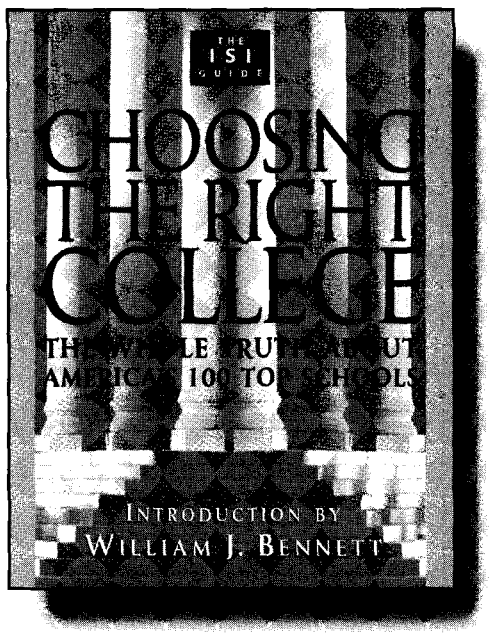

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market decline, this one more serious than the last. That will be *good* news. It's the consumption boom driven by the stock market that keeps the Fed from cutting short-term rates. A bad market reaction, conditioned in part by those CNBC talking heads, will give central bankers in the U.S. and elsewhere the excuse to respond with rate cuts and a looser monetary policy. And, free of their exchange-rate constraints, the Asians will be able to expand their money supplies. That is what will lead the world out of its present slump in growth and set it up nicely for the last speculative craze of the century.

Even if it's some other event—such as a total Russian collapse, or shockingly bad news out of Japan—that proves to be the proximate cause of the reflation, the effect will be the same. A Hong Kong/China devaluation will not mark the beginning of a depression throughout the developed world; it will mark the beginning of the end of the depression in Asia.

Of course, the currency-board, fixed-exchange-rate fundamentalists won't like this, and I have to admit I fear their fatwa. They sit around campfires at their seminars, suggestively fingering their AK-47s, and calling on the God of the Gold Standard to visit his wrath upon infidels such as me. I expect a car bomb of rhetoric to go off in my e-mail box. But such is the harsh life of economic punditry. □

Golden Boy

In California, gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren serves conservatism sunny-side up.

KATE O'BEIRNE

SAN DIEGO

THE small propeller plane trailing a "Lungren for Governor" banner circled in the cloudless blue sky over the San Diego Convention Center an hour before the candidates' first debate in the most important campaign this year. If any of the Californians down below unlaced their rollerblades or docked their windsurfers to watch the face-off, they saw Republican Attorney General Dan Lungren handily trounce Democratic Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis in the first of five scheduled debates. The following morning, the *San Diego Union-Tribune* declared, "Dan Lungren wanted 18 debates. Gray Davis wanted only five. Now we know why."

Lungren and Davis both want the second-biggest prize in American politics: the governorship of California. Winning the top spot in the most populous state of the Union is particularly important this year. The contest has been called "the most important congressional race of 1998" because the governor will preside over California's re-districting following the 2000 census, with six to eight congressional seats in the balance. Current governor Pete Wilson bluntly states, "Without a Republican governor, there's no hope for a fair and honest reapportionment."

There is a second way in which the race has wider significance. Whoever sits in the governor's mansion in Sacramento also sits on his party's bench of possible future candidates for a national ticket. If Lungren, a pro-lifer, wins in one of the most pro-choice states in the country, it would defy the conventional wisdom about the politics of abortion. The race also offers one of the clearest philosophical choices this year, pitting a sometime chief of staff to former governor Jerry Brown against an articulate, committed conservative. Indeed, a victorious Lungren could become the most attractive national spokesman conservatives have had in years.

Already, he is frequently compared to Ronald Reagan. A recent profile in the *New York Times* described him as "the most nimble, upbeat politician the [California GOP] has fielded for governor since Mr. Reagan." Like Reagan, Lungren has absorbed the spirit of the Golden State. As a Californian, he says, "I was given the opportunity to believe that there were no limitations on my future . . . to believe that the blue sky we saw in California was a metaphor for my life."

Dan Lungren's California childhood seems to have been particularly sunny. He was the second of seven children in a close-knit Catholic family. The Lungrens gave their children a sense of duty and responsibility and taught them to respect the absolute demands of conscience. So did the Holy Cross brothers at Dan's high school. (His retired high-school debate coach, Brother Joseph, sat proudly in the San Diego audience for his star pupil's first face-off with Gray Davis.) Dan took—and kept—a Confirmation pledge that he wouldn't touch alcohol until he was 21. His former colleague Rep. Bob Livingston (R., La.) notes that Lungren is the only Catholic he knows who's a teetotaler; he typically asks for a glass of milk when friends are enjoying cocktails.

All three Lungren boys graduated from their father's alma mater, the University of Notre Dame, Dan in 1968. Their four sisters attended the neighboring Saint Mary's College in South Bend. Notre Dame's football schedule appears in bold print on the attorney general's calendar, and his own son went there. It is thus no surprise that Lungren quotes John Courtney Murray's *We Hold These Truths* in speeches and, to the distress of some GOP donors, spoke about the importance of religious values in public life at his campaign kick-off. Earlier this year he told a Republican National Committee audience that he is running partly to prevent Bill Clinton from being the political legacy of his generation.

If Lungren, a pro-lifer, wins in one of the most pro-choice states in the country, it would defy the conventional wisdom about the politics of abortion.

The close embrace of his family and faith did not leave Lungren much room for self-doubt. He pleads guilty to a stubbornness on behalf of the causes he

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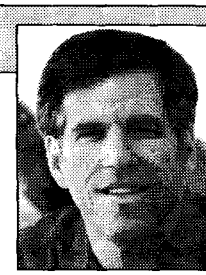
GOLFING NEWS **by Charlie Allen**



Two New Driving Irons Challenge Woods on Distance. One Sets a World Record; the Other Is One Yard Short.

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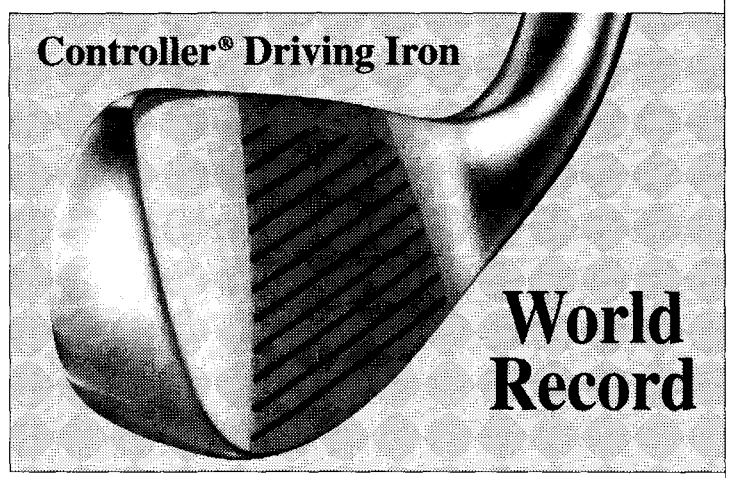

YALESVILLE, CT– The same small Connecticut company that created a golf ball that *flies* too far has introduced two new driving irons that *hit* too far; way too far if you happen to sell woods. Mike Smith, a PGA Pro, recently set a World Record off the grass with the company's 17° driving iron, and stopped just one yard short of matching the record for a *driver* with its 12.5° counterpart. His shots were 335 and 358 yards respectively.

These are troublesome distances for wood manufacturers, but that may not be their biggest worry. *These clubs keep the ball on the fairway*, a characteristic drivers and fairway woods sorely lack. Official statistics show that even the top ten money-makers on the Tour miss the fairway with their driver 25% of the time. So

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don't feel alone if you have trouble with your woods, relief is on the way. A company spokesman told me this.

"We made these clubs for golfers who are fed up spraying shots left and right with their driver and 3-wood. And millions do. If the best ten golfers in the business have trouble with woods, imagine how tough they are for the rest of us. So we designed the Controllers (the clubs' name).

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The Controller driving irons have a patented "invisible" curve (you can feel it, but barely see it) across their hitting surface that *tames* the stronger gear effect and draws off-center shots back to the middle of the fairway. It's a major golfing breakthrough and, along with their massive power, probably makes the Controllers the longest and straightest clubs in golf today.

One golfer told me, it was "...the first time I've played 18 holes and never left the fairway." Another said he cut six strokes, and vowed he would never play with his driver or 3-wood again.

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believes in, but he points out that his parents are each half-Swedish and half-Irish. Genetics also explain his dark Irish good looks and relish for spirited debate. In his campaign for re-election as attorney general in 1994, Lungren debated his challenger 11 times, despite his 20-point lead in a race he won by more than a million votes.

Lungren's interest in Republican politics also comes naturally. From 1952 through 1968, his father, a prominent surgeon in Long Beach, volunteered as personal physician to his friend Richard Nixon during his national campaigns. Dr. Lungren's phone calls home from the campaign trail gave his children a fascinating glimpse of presidential politics.

Dan Lungren, 52, got a medical deferment from his draft board in 1968. Gray Davis, 55, who served as an Army Signal Corps officer in Vietnam, has made an issue of it. Lungren accuses Davis of engaging in a "whisper campaign" to the effect that Dr. Lungren's friendship with Nixon explains the deferment (and indeed, after the San Diego debate, a Davis supporter suggested as much to me).

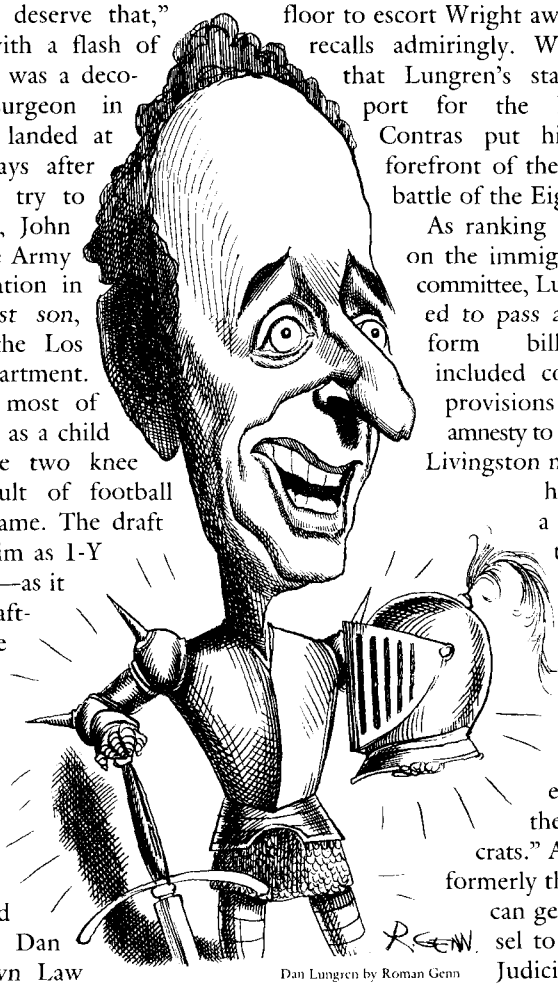
"My dad doesn't deserve that," Lungren declares with a flash of anger. Dr. Lungren was a decorated battlefield surgeon in World War II (he landed at Normandy three days after D-Day). He didn't try to keep his eldest son, John Jr., from joining the Army after college graduation in 1966. His youngest son, Brian, went into the Los Angeles Police Department. But Dan had had most of one kidney removed as a child and had undergone two knee surgeries as a result of football injuries at Notre Dame. The draft board categorized him as 1-Y (medically deferred)—as it did one-third of draft-eligible men his age that year.

After a year of law school at the University of Southern California, the 22-year-old Dan Lungren married the 20-year-old Bobbi Kolls in 1969 and moved East. While Dan attended Georgetown Law School and worked part-time on Capitol Hill, Bobbi worked at the Nixon White House. After graduation in 1971, Dan worked at the Republican National Committee for a year before returning home to Southern California.

In 1976, Lungren decided to run for Congress and came within three thousand votes of unseating the Democratic incumbent. In 1978, by this time the father of three young children, he campaigned for both the tax-cutting Proposition 13 and Congress, and won the election handily.

In his ten years in Congress, Lungren earned a reputation as a skilled legislator who took the time to master the issues. He also earned near-perfect conservative ratings for his voting record. Along with Newt Gingrich and Vin Weber, he founded the Conservative Opportunity Society to exert rightward pressure on the GOP leadership. He co-sponsored the Human Life Amendment. Weber remembers his friend as a "real fighter" in Congress who once almost came to blows with Majority Leader Jim Wright. "Dan took him on over some issue and Wright became so enraged that Tip O'Neill had to come to the floor to escort Wright away," Weber recalls admiringly. Weber notes that Lungren's stalwart support for the Nicaraguan Contras put him in the forefront of the "bloodiest battle of the Eighties."

As ranking Republican on the immigration subcommittee, Lungren helped to pass a major reform bill, which included controversial provisions granting amnesty to illegal aliens. Livingston marvels that his friend, "as a member of the minority, was able to get legislation through against all the odds. He just embarrassed the Democrats." Alan Coffey, formerly the Republican general counsel to the House Judiciary Committee, credits Lungren with one of President Reagan's major legislative victories. "He is the single reason why Reagan's comprehensive crime bill passed in 1984," Coffey says.



Dan Lungren by Roman Genn

BACK home, Lungren is still criticized for his opposition to federal reparations for Japanese Americans interned during World War II. Lungren defended his opposition on the merits, arguing that the payments set a bad precedent and were effectively an exercise in retroactive political correctness. "I can't think of a more dramatic example of a politician choosing the right policy over his own political advantage," Coffey says.

Democratic former Congressman Romano Mazzoli (Ky.) sums up the bipartisan opinion of Lungren's House colleagues when he states that "Dan Lungren was prepared to get his own way on the power of his ability to persuade and was more committed to his principles than the typical Member." Henry Hyde, the current politician Lungren most admires, fondly recalls the young Californian as "a real family man" who brought "honor, energy, and, brains to the office."

No wonder Lungren misses Congress. He misses both his political peers (he explains that serving in the Executive Branch is "a far lonelier job") and the best congressional perk: "the greatest library in the history of the world at your fingertips." But when Gov. George Deukmejian nominated him to be state treasurer, he headed home for what was to be the most bruising fight of his political career.

Democrat Don Edwards, who at that time was the dean of the California congressional delegation, presaged what was awaiting Lungren when he said, "I think [Lungren] will go far, and we'll try to stop him every step of the way." In 1990, the Democrats had their chance. Citing Lungren's congressional votes on offshore oil drilling, abortion, and reparations for Japanese-American detainees, Democrats in the State Senate labeled him "a zealot, a dogmatic ultraconservative" and refused to confirm the GOP's rising star.

By the time Lungren lost the ensuing court battle, he had moved his family back to California and announced he would give up his congressional seat. Determined to fight back, he decided to run for attorney general in 1990, thereby gaining a better launch pad for a

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future gubernatorial race than the treasurer's post would have been. "The Democrats have lived to see their worst fears realized," Gov. Wilson notes with satisfaction.

As attorney general, Lungren has presided over a 30 per cent drop in California's crime rate, which is now at its lowest level since 1968. He swats away critics of increased corrections spending by declaring, "We'll stop building prisons when they stop committing crimes." His speeches on public safety invariably include broadsides against judicial activism and calls to restore society's "moral compass."

His record is not, however, without blemish. He has crossed the National Rifle Association by supporting measures that he describes as "reasonable limitations" on gun rights. In Congress in 1988, he was one of only 45 Republicans to support the Brady Bill. But even his critics give Lungren credit for his honesty. One grassroots activist declares, "Lungren would not sell out if someone gave him an opinion poll, but he is too quick to adopt whatever the law-enforcement community wants." Literally: he has cut a CD as the lead singer, backed up by county sheriffs, in a rock group called Elvis and the Lawmen. Lungren now tells audiences that both the NRA and Handgun Control oppose his position on guns, which he takes as evidence that he has reached a sensible middle ground.

Lungren also joined the other attorneys general across the country in piling on the tobacco companies—but only after the legislature removed an exemption that had shielded the companies from liability for smoking-related illnesses. California was one of the last states to file suit.

Lungren has had a mixed record on statewide ballot initiatives. Conservatives complained that he gave only lukewarm support to Proposition 187, which denied welfare benefits to illegal aliens. And while he believes that bilingual education has been a failure in California, he opposed the successful English for the Children initiative this year. His stated reason is that decisions about education policy should be made locally. The initiative's supporters, however, think he shied away in a misguided attempt to court Latino voters. (As it happens, his prediction about how Hispanics would vote on the proposition proved sounder than the

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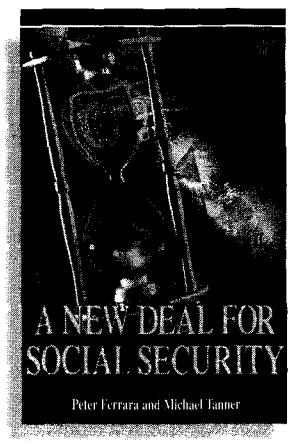

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cheery projections of Hispanic support made by its supporters.) Ward Connerly remains grateful for Lungren's outspoken support for Proposition 209, the California Civil Rights Initiative: "Dan feels passionately about the issue of preferences and went further in support of 209 than even a Republican attorney general could be expected to." Davis opposed all these successful initiatives.

Lungren's speeches on public safety invariably include broadsides against judicial activism and calls to restore society's 'moral compass.'

Grass-roots conservatives in California appreciate Lungren's position on crime, but too few of them are yet aware of how consistently principled he has been throughout his career. The fact that Lungren has never been an insurgent battling the party establishment, coupled with his few breaks from conservative orthodoxy—guns, the bilingual initiative—have some conservatives questioning his conservatism. This could create problems for Lungren with his base, because his strategy is to let his tough law-and-order record speak for itself while he capitalizes on his affable demeanor to block Davis's attempt to portray him as an "extremist" for voting as a Reaganite during his ten years in Congress.

Davis is also counting on voters' thinking it's "time for a change" after 16 years of Republican governors. Gov. Wilson explains that his party has "to remind people of how bad things were under Jerry Brown and the Democrats." The old liberal times shouldn't be too difficult to remember in a race against Brown's former chief of staff—a man who asked Rose Bird, the notoriously liberal state Supreme Court chief justice whom voters unseated for flagrant activism, to preside at his wedding. But Davis has no interest in reminiscing about how he pushed Brown's agenda during the governor's frequent absences from the state. He is "desperately trying to portray himself as a centrist," says Wilson.

Davis's back-pedaling toward the polls has not always been graceful. He opposed capital punishment when he served in California's Assembly, but now clumsily tries to outflank Lungren on the Right. "I think Singapore is a good starting point as far as law and order. . . . You can't punish people enough as far as I'm concerned," Davis solemnly stated during the San Diego debate. Following the second debate, Davis has said he might consider vouchers if the public schools did not improve during his first term.

GOP consultant Dan Schnur predicts that Dan Lungren will win the race if the campaign focuses on the right issues for him—crime, education, and taxes. Lungren supports school vouchers and teacher-competency testing; he is backing a popular education-reform initiative on November's ballot. Schnur explains that Davis "carries the California teachers union on his back," which prevents him from supporting Lungren's call for "radical reform." On the tax front, Lungren supports eliminating the state's car tax and capital-gains tax as a downpayment on a thorough overhaul of California's tax code.

Davis hopes that Lungren's reticence in joining the tobacco suit and his pro-life record will paint him as outside the mainstream in anti-tobacco, pro-choice California—and make for a reprise of his 1988 defeat for the treasurer's post. But rather than crouch in, well, a fetal position, Lungren raised the abortion issue himself in the first debate, challenging Davis on his opposition to a ban on partial-birth abortions and parental consent. (Davis, true to form, said he might consider banning some late-term abortions.)

The exchange highlighted one of Lungren's strengths, which former *NR* publisher Bill Rusher remarks on: "There is no doubt where he stands on the cultural issues." When Lungren was asked whether he would sign a bill legalizing same-sex marriage "when the country is ready for it," as Davis had pledged to do, he flatly said: "No."

Media polls show Davis leading Lungren by about 9 points among an electorate in which registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by 11 per cent. One veteran Republican politician calls Davis's slim lead in the polls "a miracle at this point in the campaign, when Republicans typically trail by double digits." Gov. Wilson recalls that in the summer of 1994 he was down by 5 points against Kathleen Brown, whom he went on to beat by 15 points. Lungren's own polling shows that he and Davis are tied among likely voters who are familiar with both candidates.

Freshman Rep. Jim Rogan (R., Calif.) argues, "If Dan Lungren can't win the governor's race, no Republican in California can." It's worth a great deal of conservative effort to see that he does. □

Anglo-Saxon Attitude

Our foreign-policy establishment has long pressed for a United Europe. We could still be saved from their error.

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

AFTER "second thoughts" on the Vietnam War and the Sixties, are we about to have second thoughts on European unity? That would be an innovation insofar as most of the second-thoughters until now have been former radicals, like Peter Collier and David Horowitz, reconsidering left-wing causes, while those now discovering what the British call Euro-skepticism are members in good standing of the foreign-policy establishment and of Bosnywash Academy, and they are rethinking one of the staples of postwar American diplomacy.

You could hardly have two men more securely rooted in the establishment than Henry Kissinger and Martin Feld-

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stein. Yet Dr. Kissinger recently astonished the Trilateral Commission when he expressed anxiety that a united Europe might be a rival to America rather than an ally. And in Foreign Affairs Martin Feldstein of Harvard poured cold water on Europe's forthcoming single currency, the Euro, as no panacea but likely instead to aggravate economic and political strains in Europe.

And at several recent international conferences, where the clinking of champagne flutes is a more familiar sound than the breaking of bottles, tightlipped rows have broken out between European politicians boasting that a united Europe with its own currency, flag, and armed forces would no longer have to take orders from Uncle Sam, and bewildered American participants asking, "Hey, aren't we all supposed to be Atlanticists?"

These rows have been a long time coming, but they were inevitable. The American dream of a united Europe as the "second pillar" of the Atlantic community—a wealthy superstate able to afford more of its own defense, and a reliable ally of the United States in maintaining world stability "out of [NATO's] area"—was a characteristically American delusion. Superpowers do not remain reliable allies, especially not subordinate ones, even when they have the same world views. They develop foreign policies in line with their own distinctive interests and become rivals. With the collapse of the Soviet threat, European states no longer had such a strong community of interest with the United States. They could afford to differ more openly with the United States over such matters as economic sanctions on Cuba and Iran, and they did.

More significantly, Europe—France in particular—has a general view of world politics that separates it from the United States. It regards the liberal international order of free trade and free capital movements as "the Anglo-Saxon system" and would prefer a more managed structure. Domestically it prefers its high-welfare, high-cost, high-unemployment "Rhineland capitalism" to, again, "Anglo-Saxon" free-market capitalism with its stress on such virtues as transparency and shareholder value. And at its worst this world view is self-consciously anti-American, as when, according to Georges-Marc Benamou in *Le Dernier Mitterrand*, François Mitterrand said: "France does not know

You deserve a factual look at...

The Golan Heights

To Whom Do They Belong? Can Israel Survive Without Them?

Now that Gaza and part of Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") have been turned over to the Palestinians, the clamor for peace with Syria becomes ever more strident. Haffez Assad, Syria's president, has left no doubt, and it is generally understood that he will not make peace with Israel unless the Golan is returned to him in its entirety and without any conditions.

What are the facts?

Historical Background—The Golan was always part of the Jewish homeland. The Syrian claim to the Golan is tenuous. Syria, as a political entity, did not exist at all until after the first World War.

Even before the establishment of Israel in 1948, the Syrians subjected the villages in northern Israel to almost daily shellings, making normal life impossible. In the 1967 Six-Day War, Syria attacked Israel and was defeated. Israel occupied the Golan Heights and in 1981, for all practical purposes annexed the area.

Syria and its President—Syria is the most destabilizing influence in the Middle East. It is classified by the U.S. State Department as a narcotics-dealing and terrorist state. Its main fury is directed at Israel, which is perceived as a bulwark of Western influence and civilization, both of which Syria totally rejects.

Syria's President, Hafez Assad, is a tyrant, every bit as ruthless as his Iraqi counterpart, Saddam Hussein. Syria is a world center for terrorism. It still harbors Nazi bigwigs, who found welcome there after the World War. Few doubt that Assad was the mastermind in the suicide attack on the Marine barracks in Beirut in which 241 Americans died, and in the explosion of Pan Am flight #103 in which 270 people lost their lives. He oversees one of the largest narcotics operations in the world.

Military Security—The Golan is about the size of Queens, NY. If it were part of Syria it would be less than 1% of its territory. But it is of a supreme strategic importance to Israel. Its high ground provides early-warning capability, without which Israel would be subject to surprise attack by the Syrians. Its loss would obligate Israel to maintain a state of mobilization that would be economically and socially untenable. On the Golan itself, there are only two natural bottlenecks through which tanks can advance. Those choke points are defensible and made possible the repulse of 1400 Syrian tanks that attacked Israel in the 1973 war. But with the Golan in Syrian hands, and without the radar installations that would give Israel warning of any military movements, thousands of tanks–backed up by missiles and airplanes–could overrun Israel in a matter of hours. The Golan does not make for perfect defense, but it gives Israel a small breathing space for mobilization.

"With the Golan in Israeli hands, attacking Arabs could be confident of defeat and peace would be preserved. To hand the Golan to Syria is a prescription for war and for Israel's destruction."

The Golan is the source of over one-third of Israel's fresh water. In 1964, with the Golan in Syrian hands, Syria attempted to divert these headwaters and to cripple Israel's water supply. It is more than likely that, given another opportunity, Syria would once again attempt to destroy Israel's water supply.

In its keen desire to bring peace to its people, after more than fifty years of war and bloodshed, Israel had been prepared to make far-reaching concessions to Syria on the Golan, in exchange for real peace. But Benjamin Netanyahu, who has promised his people *shalom batuach* (peace with security) is not prepared to give up all of the Golan and to return to the "death trap" borders of 1967 or anything close to them. In order to survive within such borders, Israel would have to rely on the goodwill of the Arab states, most of which—with the recent exception of Jordan and of the cold peace with Egypt—are still in a declared state of war with Israel. An aggressor will attack only if confident of victory. With the Golan in Israeli hands, attacking Arabs could be confident of defeat, and peace would be preserved. To hand the Golan to Syria is a prescription for war and for Israel's destruction.

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it but we are at war with America. Yes, a permanent war, a vital war, an economic war, a war without death. Yes, they are very hard, the Americans, they are voracious, they want undivided power over the world."

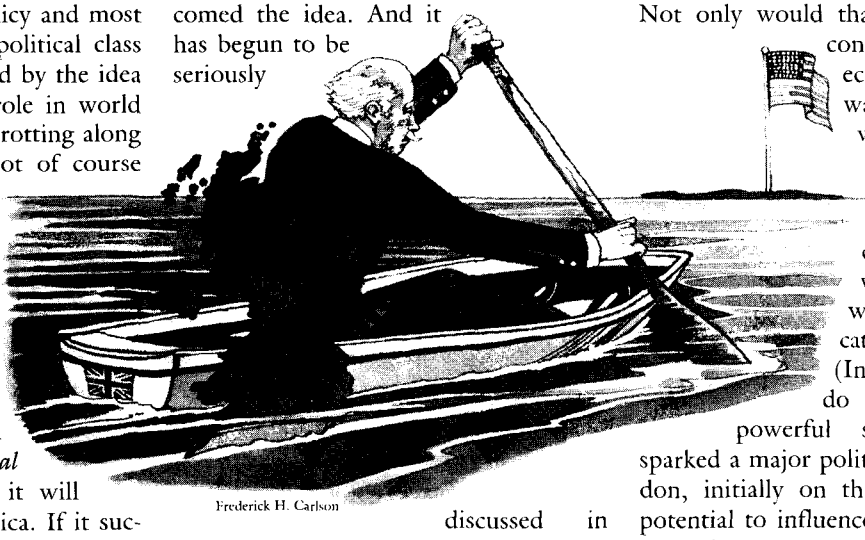
Such attitudes were a mere irritant when Europe was a collection of small- and medium-sized powers under general American leadership in NATO. Few other countries shared French attitudes in toto, and some—notably Britain but also some of the smaller nations like Denmark—were closer to the American outlook. But the accelerating pace of European federal integration, under Franco-German direction, has suddenly begun to create more serious strains in the Atlantic alliance over Bosnia, the Middle East, the West's response to Saddam Hussein, and much else. Not only does France, as one of the two dominant states within the European Union, set much of its policy and most of its tone, but also the political class across Europe is intoxicated by the idea of playing a superpower role in world politics after fifty years of trotting along after Uncle Sam. (It is not of course prepared to provide the higher defense expenditure that would be needed for such independent glory.)

The accelerating pace of European integration has suddenly begun to create strains in the Atlantic alliance.

Two developments in particular promise further trouble. Whether the Euro succeeds or fails, as Owen Harries of *The National Interest* has pointed out, it will cause problems with America. If it succeeds, it will offer an alternative haven for international speculative flows, both putting pressure on U.S. budgetary finances and increasing international monetary instability. If it fails, America will have to help Europe pick up the pieces. And the long-promised European common foreign policy is likely to be a) anti-American much of the time, as in its occasional policy declarations on the Middle East, but also b) characterized by paralysis and indecision, as in the EU's attitude toward Bosnia, and sometimes c) both, as when British Prime Minister Tony Blair, during his six months as President of the EU Council of Ministers, was criticized as being too supportive of America's military threats against Saddam Hussein by countries which themselves could not agree on a common line.

The problem for the United States is: What exactly can be done about all this? The U.S. cannot openly oppose further European integration; that would create a massive transatlantic crisis, almost certainly fail, and make Europeans even more anti-American than otherwise. The most obvious solution would be to dilute the importance of European unity and to strengthen American–European ties, as NATIONAL REVIEW has repeatedly argued, by establishing a transatlantic free-trade area as an economic counterpart to such Atlanticist institutions as NATO. In that way Atlanticism would pull the anti-American teeth of Europeanism. For the moment, however—and it may only be for the moment—France has vetoed any such project.

In this discouraging climate, a new idea has suddenly emerged. Earlier this year in London, Newt Gingrich proposed that Britain should join NAFTA. Margaret Thatcher has privately welcomed the idea. And it has begun to be seriously discussed in Tory circles in Britain. Nor is that surprising.



Frederick H. Carlson

From a U.S.–UK standpoint, it would be an almost unqualified good thing. It would create the largest and most prosperous trading bloc in the world, with enormous clout in negotiations with Asia. Because it would join countries with similar economic institutions, political outlooks, and levels of income and regulation, it would cause much less short-term economic disruption and transitional joblessness than trade liberalization with a Third World country. (Hence it is almost the only free-trade deal advocated by Pat Buchanan.) And it would not require the loss of national sovereignty and intrusive central regulation which so *irritate the British about the EU* and which the U.S. would not bear under any circumstances. NAFTA, for instance, does not require a single currency; it works with three.

But Britain-in-NAFTA faces two snags. The first is that membership in NAFTA would seem to require Britain to leave the EU. That is not in the cards. Blair's Labour government, more Europhile than its predecessor, will be in power for at least another three years. Public opinion in Britain, fearful of being "out in the cold" outside the EU, has not yet taken on board the NAFTA idea—and anyway is constantly told by the Foreign Office that "the Americans are not interested." Even the Tories, instinctively pro-American and split on Europe, would prefer to marry NAFTA and the EU in some way. It took a Canadian living in London—the newspaper magnate Conrad Black—to come up with a solution: Britain should negotiate to obtain the kind of associate EU status that Norway currently enjoys. Not only would that give Britain the continued trade and economic links it wants with Europe without the intrusive regulation from Brussels under which it chafes, but also it would be consistent with a British application to join NAFTA. (Indeed, Norway may do just that.) Black's powerful speech has now sparked a major political debate in London, initially on the Right, but with potential to influence public opinion in general.

The second snag is political: even though the Foreign Office says so, it is true that the "Americans are not interested." They are not hostile, just not interested. And although the French see Britain and the United States as indistinguishably "Anglo-Saxons," American attitudes toward Britain are more complicated. Americans tend to sup-

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port Britain in a crisis like the Falklands or to expect Britain's support in a crisis like last month's bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan. The rest of the time they forget about the place. There is no organized pro-British diaspora in the U.S. which is constantly urging support for the mother country and which could therefore to be asked to agitate for Britain-in-NAFTA. But there are nations that enjoy both diaspora backing and the general good will of American democracy—and that would make highly plausible candidates for NAFTA membership alongside Britain. Namely, the new market democracies of Eastern Europe—Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, etc. Their accession, indeed, would help to underpin economically the political stability that their NATO accession (or the prospect of it) has already established. And the old "captive nations" lobby in the U.S. would be a powerful advocate for it, and by extension for Britain's accession too.

It might even be not wholly unwelcome to the EU. France would probably resist the idea at first as a kind of American economic encirclement of Europe. But other members might see it as a way to postpone full EU membership for the new democracies more or less indefinitely—which is plainly what they would like to do—by supporting this alternative option.

The Germans would be especially keen to do so if the offer were also extended to Turkey, which the EU has irresponsibly alienated by excluding it even from early consideration for membership (as a result of which this key country is drifting eastward toward an Islamic identity). And over time Germany, Italy, and Britain could probably persuade the French to accept EU membership in this enlarged NAFTA, as they previously obtained French consent to the GATT Uruguay Round, on the grounds that they would exercise more influence on its development from inside than outside.

But a Franco-German central bloc in Europe—as one member of this new NAFTA—could then proceed to full federal union without dividing the Atlantic alliance and threatening a superpower rivalry to the United States.

There are, of course, a lot of "ifs" about this scenario. There are none about the likely outcome of our present inaction. □

Slave Trade

Permitting guest workers sounds like the perfect solution to the immigration imbroglio. Look again.

MARK KRIKORIAN

A BILL to substantially increase the number of foreign high-tech workers admitted under temporary visas has stumbled in Congress, mainly because of divisions among Republicans and a strong veto threat from the White House. The House leadership postponed until after the August recess a vote on the bill to increase the number of "H-1B" visas for computer programmers and other skilled workers by almost 200,000 over five years, from the current 65,000 a year to 115,000 by 2002. And the bill

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may simply fade away because, in the words of one House Republican staffer, "How many people want to vote for 190,000 new foreign workers two months before an election?"

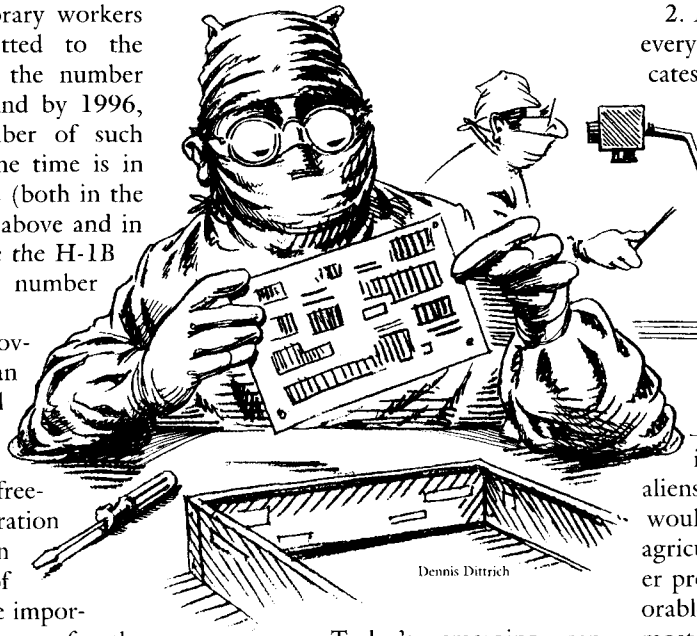
But even if it doesn't become law this year, the implicit model of immigration it embodies will be with us for some time. Under this new dispensation, "nonimmigrants" (the technical term for those on temporary visas) are admitted for long periods of time to work for specific employers, without the ability to change the terms of employment or switch employers. Though most of today's immigrants are able to participate freely in the labor market, the number of captive foreign workers has been growing steadily. In 1981, only 44,770 temporary workers and trainees were admitted to the United States; by 1990, the number had grown to 139,587, and by 1996, 227,440. The total number of such workers present at any one time is in the hundreds of thousands (both in the visa categories mentioned above and in others), and proposals like the H-1B bill would increase that number dramatically.

Today's captive workers come voluntarily, but they can't strike, can't switch jobs, can't even complain.

The model that has governed our law for more than a hundred years treated immigrants as free workers, able to compete in the labor market. This free-worker model of immigration was formally articulated in the Contract Labor Law of 1885, which prohibited the importation of aliens under contract for the performance of labor or services of any kind. This was a reaction to the importation of "coolie" labor from China, a practice which itself succeeded the institution of indentured servitude. And it was a recognition that the freedom of workers to negotiate wages and working conditions and to change jobs is essential to capitalism—just as indentured servitude was a manifestation of pre-capitalist labor relations, like vassalage or serfdom.

Today's emerging immigration model harks back to those pre-modern arrangements. Like their predecessors, today's captive workers come voluntarily, for the chance of earning more money or settling permanently, but they can't strike, can't switch jobs, can't even complain. Some critics compare this captive-worker model to slavery, but actually, for employers, it's much better than slavery: they don't have to make huge capital investments in purchasing workers, nor do they have to feed and clothe the guest workers, nor support them in their old age. Employers enjoy the benefits of a manorial relationship without the costs.

The bipartisan U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform was unequivocal in its opposition to the captive-worker model of immigration. Commenting on farm workers, but with an eye toward all nonimmigrant worker programs, the Commission wrote that it "unanimously and strongly agrees that such a program would be a grievous mistake. . . . Experience has shown that such limitations are incompatible with the values of democratic societies worldwide."



Today's emerging captive-worker model of immigration has three components.

1. *High-tech Braceros:* The H-1B visa program was invented in 1990 because of congressional panic over a labor shortage which never materialized. The program allows for 65,000 temporary visas, good for up to six years, for people in "specialty occupations" tied to a specific employer. The captive nature of this labor force doesn't start with the H-1B visa. Many of the workers arrive on student visas, then extend them for one year to get "practical training" (tied to an employer). Only then do they get H-1B visas.

Getting assigned to a different employer is difficult; and since the main payoff of an H-1B visa is sponsorship by one's employer for a green card, the worker doesn't want to have to start the sponsorship process over by switching jobs, possibly dragging things out so long that the temporary visa expires first. Once the immigrant acquires a green card, he's free to work anywhere he wants, but his period of indenture is long enough for his employer to profit handsomely from the arrangement.

So it's no surprise that high-tech companies are pushing for an increase in these visas. They could instead have sought the reallocation of some family-based green cards to the employment-based categories. John O'Sullivan suggested that policy in these pages ("Silicon Implants," June 1), and business could almost certainly get Congress to approve it. But computer firms want to prevent job-hopping, and simply increasing the number of immigrant programmers won't do that.

2. *Keeping Them on the Farm:* During every Congress, the indefatigable advocates for agribusiness float proposals for new agricultural guest-worker programs, contending that the existing H-2A program allows too few temporary farm workers to enter the country (the figure is around 20,000 per year). In July, these advocates finally got the Senate to approve a new program with neither numerical limits nor worker protections.

Farmers perennially claim that if they did not have either illegal aliens or captive guest workers, crops would rot in the fields and American agriculture would implode. Guest-worker programs thus become the only honorable means of producing food. But most agricultural economists agree that American agriculture could survive, indeed thrive, without either illegal workers or captive guest workers. While some marginal producers would go under, the industry as a whole would adapt and become stronger, as the smaller labor force became more stable (because of better pay and benefits) and more productive (through more efficient use of labor and more extensive

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mechanization). In any case, labor costs account for a very small portion of the retail price of produce.

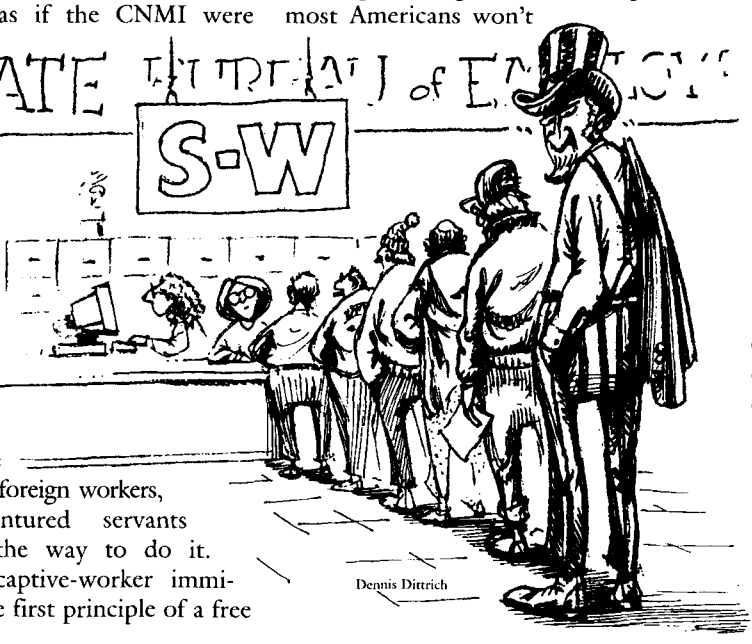
3. *Kuwait in the Pacific:* The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) offers the most sobering look at the development of the captive-worker model of immigration. The United States granted commonwealth status to the islands in 1986, part of the deal being that the CNMI would control immigration in order to protect the native culture.

Instead, the local administration has used this authority to import a turnkey garment industry staffed entirely by guest workers. These Chinese, Filipinos, and others now number 35,000, compared to only 25,000 U.S. citizens. The captive workers are subjected to all the indignities one would expect, including withholding of pay, sexual exploitation, coerced abortions—the Chinese are even prohibited by their contracts from going to church. The natives, meanwhile, are almost entirely employed by the government or on welfare. Foreigners account for more than 90 per cent of the private-sector workforce. The only comparable examples in the world are Persian Gulf dictatorships like Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

Many Republican congressmen have resisted a Clinton Administration initiative to extend U.S. immigration and labor laws to the islands. This would make sense if a conservative alternative, like independence, were also on the table. But many conservative lawmakers, staffers, and journalists have touted the islands as a "phenomenal economic success" and an "experimental laboratory of liberty," as if the CNMI were Hong Kong with coconut trees instead of Kuwait without oil.

There are plenty of reasons to oppose mass immigration of any kind. But even if there were a need for foreign workers, importing indentured servants would not be the way to do it. Proponents of captive-worker immigration forget the first principle of a free society: all of us, including immigrants, are human beings, created in the image of God, not mere factors of production to be used and discarded. (After the failure of Germany's guest-worker program, one writer lamented, "We asked for workers, but they sent us men.")

Conservatives cannot applaud the emerging consensus among GOP lawmakers: pro-immigration, anti-immigrant. □



Security Blanket

If the public is ever to feel comfortable with Social Security reform, it needs to see a trial run.

JOHN HOOD

IT has long been a free-market dream: changing Social Security from a redistributionist, pay-as-you-go social program to a personalized system of private retirement accounts. Once confined to Cato Institute seminars and Philadelphia Society meetings, the idea now has lawmakers of all ideological stripes buzzing. And yet, a big political obstacle remains. Privatizing Social Security would be reform on a grand scale, involving many billions of dollars—and the retirement prospects of many elderly and near-elderly voters.

What reformers need is a trial run, a demonstration that average folks can manage their money just as well as government bureaucrats can (or, indeed, better). Supporters point to Chile, Australia, and Great Britain as proof that it can be done.

But promising as these examples are, most Americans won't be convinced until they have seen an example closer to home. Policymakers can create one: by letting states privatize Unemployment Insurance.

The Unemployment Insurance program was created by the same legislation as its bigger cousin, the Social Security Act of 1935. A joint federal–state program, UI provides two services: the promise of UI benefits in the event of a layoff, and the operation of Employment Service job offices throughout the country.

UI is one of our largest social programs. Like Social Security, it is financed by payroll taxes—to the tune of $23 billion in 1997. Also like Social Security, it runs an annual surplus, and its accumulated "trust fund" ($35 billion as of last year) must by law be invested only in federal Treasury securities and thus serves to mask the true size of the federal budget deficit.

There is another similarity to Social Security: Unemployment Insurance is an outmoded program that offers a bad deal to workers and is a drag on the economy.

In the first place, workers are eligible for UI benefits only if they have lost their job involuntarily and through no fault of their own. If you choose to leave one job in search of a better one, resign to follow your spouse to a new city, or are fired for what your manager calls "cause" (even if this is untrue), you cannot make a claim.

Mr. Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation, a state-policy think tank in Raleigh, North Carolina, and the publisher of a new monograph entitled Savings & Loans: Reforming Unemployment Insurance through Competition and Compound Interest.

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Furthermore, UI benefits are small and strung out over half a year. If what you need is money up front for retraining or to start your own business, you'll have to get it elsewhere. The silliest part of the system is its requirement that beneficiaries must show evidence of "looking for work" every week in order to keep getting checks. This rule often creates an elaborate minuet of fraud—as in George Costanza's antics on *Seinfeld*—with or without the complicity of UI bureaucrats. Efforts to enforce these and other convoluted UI rules jack up administrative costs significantly, further reducing the value of the program to the people whose taxes pay for it.

The bottom line is that millions of Americans are forced to pay into a UI system that offers them little or nothing in return. In only three states do more than half of unemployed workers ever see a dime of UI benefits.

Even the vaunted job-search component is far less than meets the eye. A national survey reported that only 4 per cent of UI beneficiaries found their new jobs through the government system.

The vast majority of people who are out of work, in other words, cope with unemployment in ways that don't involve the UI system. We draw down our private savings to pay bills or go back to school. We use want ads, word of mouth, and private firms to find new jobs. Personnel agencies have been a growth industry for years, while many Americans now sock away several months' worth of income in money-market funds and other safe but interest-bearing forms of investment. Anyone who wants some measure of security has to do these things, even though we are forced to pay into the UI system. That system essentially subsidizes a few industries with a high risk of layoff and pushes unemployment rates higher by inducing beneficiaries to stay out of the job market in order to collect as many benefit checks as possible.

THE way out of this morass is, not surprisingly, similar to what has been proposed for Social Security. The Unemployment Insurance system should be personalized and privatized. The first step is already underway. A coalition of 23 states and the private Unemployment and Workers' Compensation Association is set to support a bill in Congress next year from Rep. Clay Shaw (R., Fla.) to devolve the UI system entirely to the states. Currently, states administer the program and collect part of the tax revenue, while Washington enforces strict rules and collects the rest of the taxes. The federal portion is spent on administration and on subsidies to states with troubled UI trust funds. Rep. Shaw's bill is intended to eliminate waste and give states more authority to make their own decisions. Even the Clinton Administration admits that the current system is broken; it is reportedly preparing its own, less ambitious devolution plan.

The next step is to allow states to experiment with privatization. We already have a precedent here, too: workers' compensation. While virtually all states require employers to purchase workers' comp insurance for their employees, few require that government provide it. There is a competitive market of private insurers that sell workers' comp policies. There is no reason to expect UI to be any different.

In North Carolina, the think tank I head, the John Locke Foundation, has already proposed a private alternative called Unemployment Savings Accounts (USAs). Employers would direct payroll taxes to their employees' USAs rather than to state or federal coffers. A small portion of the payroll tax would go to a state trust fund that would loan money to new workers to set up their own USAs. Workers could select from a variety of USA plan administrators, including banks, insurers, and personnel firms. These administrators would not only manage the accounts but also, if workers wished, provide job-placement or job-training services. Unspent USA funds could be withdrawn after retirement or passed on to heirs.

The bottom line is that millions of Americans are forced to pay into a UI system that offers them little or nothing in return.

Unlike government managers, private USA administrators would have incentives to provide the benefits workers actually need (such as lump-sum distributions up front for retraining) and to get workers re-employed as quickly as possible. Why? Because the firms would seek to maximize deposits so that they could make interest on them. Having workers pay into the system is far more lucrative for private administrators than having workers make withdrawals. The opposite is true for government managers, whose jobs and empires depend on serving as many UI claimants as possible for as long as possible.

Whether or not states chose to use USAs, devolution would serve as a useful trial run for Social Security privatization. The amount of money involved is far smaller, and so is the downside risk. As is now happening with electricity restructuring, some states would rush ahead, while others would move cautiously, looking to the former for examples of what to do—or what not to do. Of course, devolving and privatizing UI would also benefit workers. And it would boost the economy by reducing the length of time workers spent unemployed and making more private savings available for investment. Not bad for an unintended consequence. □

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WASHINGTON

August 21, 1998

Aloha, Rusty!

Greetings from Hawaii, where the Gore family is enjoying some well-earned rest and relaxation. I'm dashing off a note now, while I've got a few moments of peace and quiet. Tipper is resting (she's been under a great deal of strain), and Little Al is collecting volcanic rocks to bring home to D.C.

Monday was a difficult day. Tipper had spent the weekend preparing me to take the oath of office and picking out something called a "summer formal dress."

I kept telling her that from what I understood, Bill was going to apologize for an "inappropriate relationship," and if he did, I was going to issue a statement supporting him completely.

Right after the speech, Tipper urged me to pull what she called "a Feinstein": act hurt and hope people buy it. But I couldn't do that to Bill, Rusty. He's my best friend. He taught me how to smoke cigars. He explains dirty jokes to me. He's the one who figured out the whole 35 per cent hard, 65 per cent soft money-raising plan. He was there for me when I needed him, Rusty, and I'm not going to abandon him.

Tuesday morning, as I was preparing my statement, Tipper got stung by a blowfish while snorkeling. The hotel doctor was nice enough to prescribe some heavy-duty painkillers, and to prescribe them in heavy-duty doses. I'm not proud of it, Rusty, but I needed to have her relaxed and smiling by my side.

Little Al came into my room just at that point and asked when we'd be going to the volcano. "Soon, kiddo," I replied. "As soon as I finish my statement supporting the President."

"Can I read it?" he asked.

"Not 'til you're older," I said. Kids grow up too fast, these days, Rusty.

But Little Al is a curious kid. He reads the papers and he's full of questions. What he came up with this time was: "Some of the kids at school say that it doesn't count as sex if you make sure that the girl doesn't have any fun. Is that true, Dad?"

I don't like keeping things from my kids, Rusty. Tipper and I have always been open with them. "Well," I said, trying to be judicious, "don't tell your mother I said so, but, basically, yes."

"Don't tell me what?" Tipper said. She had come in quietly. I could see that she was angry about my plan, so I scooted Little Al out. Tipper swallowed her pills and hobbled over to my laptop. Peering over my shoulder, she huffed in anger.

"So you're defending the liar?" she asked.

"Well, now, he wasn't lying, actually," I said. "Legal definitions matter, honey. And the court was very clear. As long as Bill did nothing to cause or elicit sexual pleasure in his partner, he could say that he didn't have sex with her."

Tipper rolled her eyes. "By *that* definition . . ."

"Don't say it!" I warned. But it was too late.

"By that definition," she went on, "you are this country's first virgin Vice Pres—"

"Tipper! Damn it!" I shouted. "I am going to give this speech just as I wrote it. And I am going to talk extra slow, just to bug you."

"Why is it," she shouted, "that you are so determined to have America focus entirely on the campaign-finance scandal?"

"Why is it," I shouted, "that Bill commits adultery but it's our marriage that's in trouble?"

She stormed around the room. "I just don't understand you, Al. The man lies to you, lies to America, lies to his wife, and you can't see what a perfect opportunity this is? I would hope," she continued, getting a little wobbly from the medication, "that when and if you're President, and when and if you nail an intern, that . . . that . . ."

I could see that she was losing her train of thought. Her eyes were glassy and she was starting to slur her words. It occurred to me that six time zones away, Bill was probably arguing with HIS wife about HIS speech. I wonder if he's ever tried heavy painkillers.

"I would . . . hope," she went on, "that you would have the . . . whatever to stand up . . ."

And then she got a silly grin on her face and I knew it was time to face the press. I went out and made my speech. Tipper was just coming out of her haze as I finished, so I asked the doctor to give her a little something extra to help her sleep.

That was Tuesday. She's been asleep for four days. When she wakes up, I'm going to have to tell her that we bombed Afghanistan and Sudan. Don't look forward to that.

After Hawaii, Rusty, the Gore family is going to need a vacation. Time to heal and that sort of thing.

Aloha!

Your pal, Al

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help

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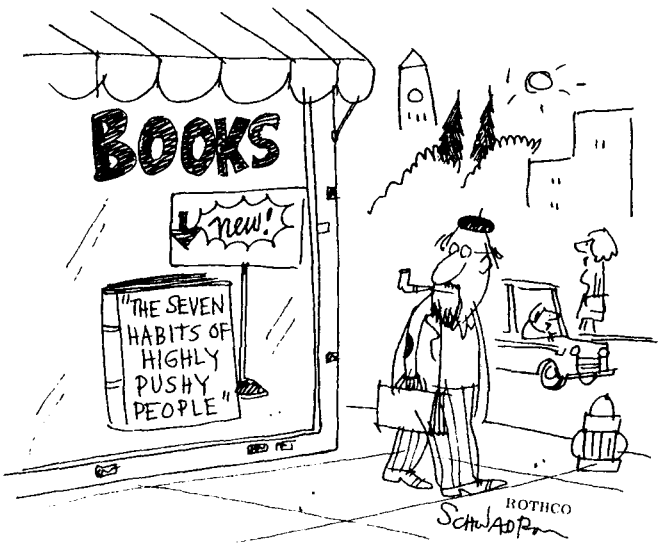
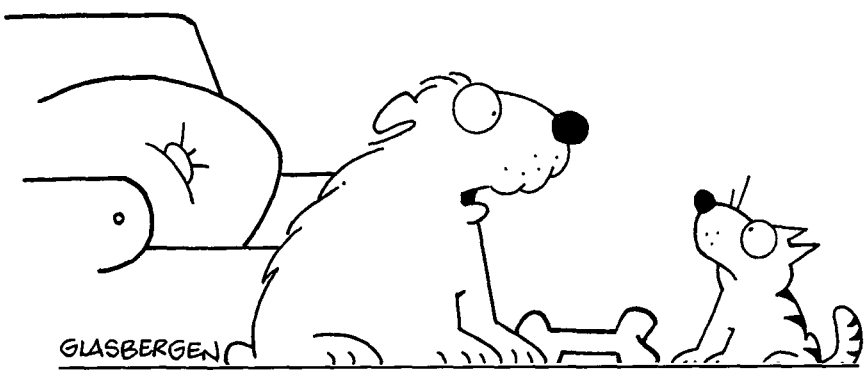
"It's Smith and Parkhurst, sir—they're auditing each other again."

Pinocchio Strikes Back

Encumbered by a lengthened nose,
While summoning a martial pose,
The President, with quick-change skill,
Discards the role of Big Bad Bill
For Lion-Hearted Richard; now
The wardrobe mistress takes a bow.

—W. H. von Dreele





"He pretended to throw the ball, but he faked me out. It was the most humiliating experience of my life. But now I'm learning to live with the pain, one day at a time."

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THAT NIGHT, HILLARY SAW IT AGAIN—MORE EVIDENCE OF ANTI-ARKANSAS BIAS ON BILL'S COLLAR!

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Ghost Story

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

SUMMER reading is supposed to be light. But those who prefer a bit of darkness, to give them some shade from the heat of the sun, may wish to consider this fascinating book by Mark Fuhrman, whose theme may put them in mind of Shakespeare. Yes, Shakespeare. Yes, *that* Mark Fuhrman.

"Murder," wrote the Bard, "moves like a ghost." For a ghost always leaves trails of ectoplasm behind it, and so in its way does murder. Its victims haunt us, and it has long been believed that their restless spirits wander the earth calling for revenge. And that is the real subject of this book. *Murder in Greenwich* is about the revenge that the Moxleys of Greenwich, Conn., have yet to enjoy for the savage murder of their daughter, Martha. It is about the continuing revenge of Dominick Dunne (who inspired this book) on the criminal-justice system that freed the killer of his own daughter after the shortest of sentences. And it is about Mark Fuhrman's dreams of revenge for a career destroyed by O. J. Simpson's vicious carnival.

Murder in Greenwich: Who Killed Martha Moxley?, by Mark Fuhrman (HarperCollins, 283 pp., $25)

The Moxleys moved to Greenwich in 1974, when Martha was 14. Blonde and vivacious, she settled easily into a life of country-club fun, high-school success, and *Ice Storm*–style high jinks. Within little more than a year she was dead, her skull shattered by that most Greenwich of weapons, a six-iron.

But an unusual six-iron, a "Toney Penna" in fact. A rare brand, but one favored by Martha's neighbors the Skakels. The Skakels were rich, well connected (Ethel Skakel had married Bobby Kennedy), and wild. And theirs was a wildness which could have, some said, a dangerous edge.

Martha was with two of the Skakels, Tommy, 17, and Michael, 15, the night she died. Tommy is the last person known to have seen her alive. The murder itself took place not far from the Skakel property, a property that was never systematically searched by a police force that was curiously diffident in interrogating its inhabitants. Well, they were royalty, sort of. The boys (who have denied any involvement in the killing) were RFK's nephews, after all. Were the police, perhaps, just a little too deferential?

Roman Genn

Dominick Dunne thought so. His 1993 best-seller, *A Season in Purgatory*, is a fictionalized version of the Moxley case. The golf club is turned into a baseball bat and the murderer becomes young Constant Bradley, scion of a family that is part Skakel, part Kennedy, and all Borgia. The hero bears some resemblance both to Kenneth Littleton, the Skakels' tutor, and to Mr. Dunne himself. He is a writer who "like[s] to cover trials. [He is] specifically interested in people who get away with things. People who go free."

Which is where Mark Fuhrman comes in. Dominick Dunne had grown to admire him in the aftermath of the Simpson fiasco. Meanwhile, Mr. Fuhrman himself was "looking for an unsolved murder to write about." So Mr. Dunne passed the baton, handing his files to Mark Fuhrman. As he explains, "Say what you want, the guy is a great detective."

Or at least a good prosecutor. *Murder in Greenwich* is just one side of a case that has yet to come to trial. We never hear from the defense. Nevertheless, Mr. Fuhrman runs briskly through the facts. Not quite a literary classic, *Murder in Greenwich* is still a compelling read, a real-life Agatha Christie novel. Drawing on his years of police experience, the author reviews the evidence, the alibis (he is unconvinced by Michael Skakel's), and the rival suspects, to come to his conclusion. The only "N word" he uses is "nephew."

At the same time, however, the reader is left in no doubt that *Murder in Greenwich* is another chapter in the O.J. wars, "the Simpson case all over again." And, so far as Mark Fuhrman is concerned, that means that, once more, the rich have got away with it. The author reveals enough class hatred in this book to launch a Gephardt presidential campaign, reinforced, doubtless, by the somewhat cool welcome he received in Greenwich.

Which should have come as no surprise. The O.J. trial turned Mr. Fuhrman into a pariah, but, in the phrase of America's prim totalitarians, he still doesn't quite get it. A Valjean who thinks that he is a Javert, he seems to believe that a case like this will give him back his respectability. He is wrong. It may be sweet revenge, but it will never

Mr. Stuttaford is a writer based in New York City.

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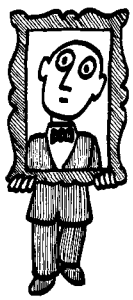
restore him to what he was and what he wants to be again: "Mark Fuhrman, Detective."

Nor, one suspects, will another trial, another conviction, and another sentence bring peace to Dominick Dunne. He is a crusader now, raging against the cruelty of his daughter's fate and its unjust consequences. He picks at his psychic wounds, unable to let scar tissue form. He prefers to return to the scenes of other crimes to ensure that they, at least, have an appropriate ending. Obsessive, certainly, morbid, perhaps, but who are we to judge a parent's grief?



Martha's mother, Dorothy, can. And she has welcomed the publication of *Murder in Greenwich*. "That's my life, these days," she has recently been quoted as saying. "The hope that someday we'll know who did this." She may get her wish. A Connecticut judge has now been appointed as a one-man grand jury to investigate the Moxley case. In early August that judge heard testimony from Kenneth Littleton, the Skakels' tutor. Once seen as a possible suspect in the murder, Mr. Littleton testified in exchange for immunity, which suggests that the field of suspects is narrowing still further.

And if, after all these years, there is a trial and a guilty verdict? Maybe, finally, Mrs. Moxley can put Martha's spirit to rest.

For our ancestors were right. The murdered do live on as ghosts, but they are phantoms that haunt our minds, not our homes. For a killing brings grief, but also uncertainty. A "foul, strange, and unnatural" ending, it leaves our world askew. The restless souls belong to the survivors, not the departed. A trial and a verdict can restore the illusion that things are as they should be. If *Murder in Greenwich* can hasten this process for Mrs. Moxley, Mark Fuhrman will have written a very good book indeed. □

Modern Times

JOHN GRAY

PIERRE Manent's *The City of Man* is nothing less than a diagnosis of the modern condition. Subtly written and containing passages of deep learning, it presents a powerful challenge to the modern world's image of itself.

Like many others, Manent identifies modernity with a rejection of the authority of the past. Early modern thinkers such as Hobbes and Locke marked their break with classical civilization by repudiating the understanding of the good life that was taken for granted by Plato and Aristotle. They sought to overturn the authority of tradition by appealing directly to reason and nature. Thinkers from Montesquieu and Hume to this day have done the same. But in Manent's view these modern thinkers have not replaced the authority of tradition by a rational appeal to nature. They have done away with the very idea of nature. For at the heart of the modern view of things, as Manent understands it, is the denial that man has a nature.

The City of Man, by Pierre Manent, translated by Marc A. LePain, with an introduction by Jean Bethke Elshtain (Princeton, 225 pp., $28.95)

When modern thinkers rejected the past, he argues, it was not for the sake of nature but merely for the sake of the new. French Enlightenment thinkers embraced the novel regime they thought they perceived in England—a regime not of virtue as the ancients had understood it, but of commerce and liberty. Montesquieu developed an entire political theory to justify this modern regime. But the rational foundation which Enlightenment thinkers imagined they had found for commercial society was not really available to them. By rejecting the ancient idea of nature, modern thinkers left themselves with no account of man in terms of which history could be judged. How can English liberty be the best regime if there are no universal standards by which different regimes can be assessed?

Enlightenment thinkers needed to have things both ways. They had to reject classical conceptions of vice, virtue, and human nature in order to defend commercial society; but they needed a similar conception of man if they were to show that such a society was best. As Manent puts it, in a characteristically gnomic and provocative statement, "Without being able to give a rational account of what satisfies it, Enlightenment reason believes more things than it actually understands." The effect of Enlightenment thought has not been to enthrone Nature; it has been to sanctify the New. Indeed, Manent hints, that may have been its real intent.

Most historians will find these claims implausible. After all, the writings of the founders of modern political thought abound with references to nature—not least human nature. Both Hobbes and Locke invoke the nature of man as the final secular support for their political philosophies. The idea that man is no more than the sum of his history and social relationships, which is fashionable today among postmodernists, was unknown to them. Indeed, as Manent recognizes, Hobbes and Locke were able to claim universal authority for their political beliefs precisely because they thought they were entailed by a true view of human nature.

But Manent does not write here merely as a historian. Instead he is offering the reader an arresting narrative model of the rise and development of modern philosophy, in which the incoherences of early modern thought lead on to ever more extreme positions. So it was—Manent seems to believe—that Hobbes's account of men's appetite for power over one another led on to Nietzsche's nihilistic doctrine of the will-to-power. In this example, as in some others, Manent's account is reminiscent of the story of modern Western philosophy that is told in the writings of Leo Strauss. (*The City of Man* is dedicated to the memory of Allan Bloom.)

Pierre Manent presents a powerful challenge to the modern world's image of itself.

The proper way to judge a narrative is by its plausibility. Judged by this standard *The City of Man* is unconvincing. It presents European intellectual history as

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a single story line, in which the ideas that dominate the modern age are inexorable developments of a few simple, misguided thoughts that were conceived at the beginning of that age. But that is a fanciful tale which leaves out all the accidents and vicissitudes that have brought us to where we are. Manent himself insists that chance events have a pivotal role in history, which is why history can never be understood in terms of universal, "scientific" laws. Thus he writes of the Battle of Britain that "If... one attributes the English resistance of 1940 to the great soul of Churchill, one at the same time attributes it to chance; it was by a great 'chance' that such a man as Churchill found himself at that very moment in a situation to take action."

Manent's critique of modern thought is pungent and often memorably aphoristic. *The City of Man* is written with a grace and verve that is uncommon in academic philosophy. But much of the argument is presented in the form of enigmatic and hyperbolic assertions. In reality, the world today is not the conclusion of an argument set out in early modern times but rather the fortuitous result of a miscellany of causes. Curiously, for all his animus against everything modern, Manent seems bewitched by one of the modern world's most besetting illusions—its unshakable conviction of its own inevitability. □

The Future of Battle

JOHN HILLEN

A VETERAN faces an overwhelming temptation when he is reviewing a book about the future of war written by someone who has been neither in the future nor in a war. The temptation, of course, is to dismiss the book out of hand. However, veterans have often been wrong about the future of war, and several of those who have come closest to the truth (J. F. C. Fuller, B. H. Liddell Hart, Billy Mitchell) were ridiculed and saw their military careers suffer as a result.

The Next World War: Computers Are the Weapons and the Front Line Is Everywhere, by James Adams (Simon & Schuster, 366 pp., $25)

So James Adams, a former defense correspondent for the London *Sunday Times*, has as much right as anybody to try giving us a peek at the new face of war. In *The Next World War*, he has done a commendable job of sketching the changes that the information age might bring to U.S. defense planning. This eminently readable volume should take its place alongside George and Meredith Friedman's *The Future of War* (1996) and Alvin and Heidi Toffler's *War and Anti-War* (1995).

The subject is crucially important because while the American public has little interest any more in military affairs, the military and an influential cabal of defense thinkers are quietly pushing the Pentagon down a path known as "The Revolution in Military Affairs." With little debate, the Defense Department is channeling billions of dollars into future concepts and systems that ultimately will replace a large proportion of our tanks, ships, planes, and troops with computers (and computer viruses), satellites, precision-guided missiles, lasers, underwater battleships, and unmanned aircraft.

Why send a tank, when a satellite will do the trick?

As Adams explains, the idea driving this revolution is that we sit now on the cusp of a radical change in the character of war. The microprocessor and the other advanced technologies of the digital age promise to change not only the way military force is wielded, but also the underlying strategy, and the basic calculations of power itself. Previous revolutions in military affairs have shifted the world's political order. For in-

Mr. Hillen, an NR *contributing editor, is the Olin Fellow for National Security Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations.*

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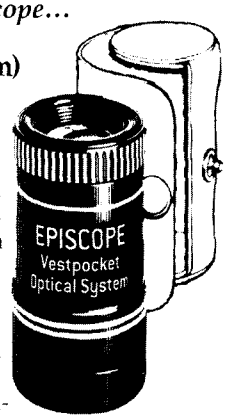

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stance, the change from galleys to fighting ships under sail led to the demise of the rich Mediterranean city-states and projected England, Holland, Spain, and Portugal into the first rank of nations. Similarly, Napoleon's ability to harness together a political revolution (which permitted the *levée en masse)* and an industrial one (which permitted mass-produced and standardized equipment) allowed him temporarily to overwhelm the set-piece armies of monarchical Europe.

The next revolution in military affairs has arrived, according to Adams. "In this new world, the soldier will be the young geek in uniform who can insert a virus into Teheran's electricity supply to plunge the city into darkness." The Gulf War, to most people a high-tech party on CNN, was in Adams's view "the last hurrah of the armed forces and generals who had trained on the legacy of the Second World War." The only sometimes accurate precision munitions in the Gulf War represented merely one stage of an evolutionary change. The future will see a fully networked array of systems in which many different sensors, based principally in space, will communicate instantly to a multitude of long-range precision munitions based on U.S. soil, beneath the surface of the ocean, in the air, in space, or within information systems themselves. Need to destroy some tanks in Iraq? Why send our tanks? A satellite or submarine will quickly do the trick—and with little risk to American life or limb.

All this very probably will come to pass, at least in part, but there is still reason to question Adams's ultimate thesis, which is that "war has changed forever."

Well, yes and no. The character of war is always changing but never its nature. Adams fails to appreciate that, for the most part, the revolution in military affairs has been narrowly conceived and technologically driven: Have gizmo, must use. This is backward. Strategists should first decide what they need to achieve politically, and then consider what sort of military force might do the job. The White House has not phoned across the river to the Pentagon with the message, "Because of what America will be doing around the globe in the next fifty years, we'll need a radically different information-warfare military force. Please design and build one."

To be sure, technological advantage must be pursued, and an information-age military will make many defense jobs easier. Superior technology has always been one of America's sustainable military advantages. But information warfare could also price the U.S. out of a market of significant conflicts, render the military vulnerable in important ways, and change the perception of American power for the worse. In many parts of the world, our willingness to shed our own blood will impress the locals far more than our courage in putting our bytes on the line. Moreover, there is always the question, "What if it doesn't work?" In the many conflicts strategic-bombing advocates have promised to win and did not, that question should probably have been asked earlier than it was.

Information warfare, long-range precision strikes, and all the other advances of the digital age are capabilities, not strategies. They are complements to raw force, not substitutes for it. James Adams presents this caveat thinly and appears not to have made up his mind about it. However, compared to the teenager-in-heat enthusiasm other popular authors have for the vision of war-by-computer, the fact that he is enticed, but not completely seduced makes this the best book of the lot. □

A Writer All Through

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

The King's English: A Guide to Modern Usage, by Kingsley Amis (St. Martin's, 270 pp., $23.95)

Kingsley Amis: A Biography, by Eric Jacobs (St. Martin's, 392 pp., $26.95)

AH, USAGE. A couple of years ago I tried out one of those computerized style checkers. It promptly told me off for starting a sentence with "but." A few minutes' research confirmed what I felt sure of anyway: that Chaucer, Shakespeare, and God (insofar as He permitted His thoughts to be set in English by the translators of the King James Bible) all started sentences with "but"—and I have never used the wretched style checker since.

There you have the beauty of usage, as against other elements of language like grammar or spelling: it offers so much latitude for one to develop one's own opinions. Those of Sir Kingsley Amis (1922–95) are now on offer in *The King's English*, a collection of the British novelist's thoughts, arranged alphabetically, on the use of words.

Some of the book will be baffling, perhaps incomprehensible, to an American reader, but not as much as you might think. Sir Kingsley was an Americanophile, and his book treats American usages with proper respect. Of Follett's *Modern American Usage* he says: "In its vigorous fashion it shows . . . how little good U.S. linguistic behaviour has come to differ from its British counterpart"—an observation that startled me at first, but which on reflection I think wise.

Everyone has his favorite points for attention in a book like this. One of mine is the use of "data" with a plural verb form, a schoolmarmism found even in otherwise reliable publications like, well, NATIONAL REVIEW. "Data" may indeed derive from a Latin plural; but if it's Latin you're using, be so good as to print the word in italics. Out of italics, "data" is an English noun of the aggregative type—like "rice" or "sand"—and takes the singular ("the rice is cooked"). On this, and most other points, Amis is sound. As a person who crosses his sevens, however, I was dismayed by his severity toward this tiny mannerism: "gross affectation."

Since it was first taught as a university course, has English literature got better or worse?

Sir Kingsley was an instance of several things, perhaps most famously of the

Mr. Derbyshire is the author of the novel Seeing Calvin Coolidge in a Dream.

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angry young lefty who matures into a conservative curmudgeon. In Eric Jacobs's workmanlike biography, this rightward drift is said to have begun with Sir Kingsley's experiences teaching English literature in the postwar British university system, which was being democratized and expanded with, as he saw it, negative results. I think there was more to it than that. Sir Kingsley's abiding hatred was of snobbery, the arrogance of unearned rank. He had no objection to genuine elites—elites of merit—but detested both the conservative, class-based, pre-war British establishment and the bogus elites of talentless, and exclusively left-wing, self-promoters who began to infest not only academe but also the arts and the media from 1960 onward.

Eventually Sir Kingsley came to believe that the academicization of English literature was a mistake. He posed the rhetorical question: Since first being taught as a university course (at Oxford in 1894), had English literature got better or worse? He especially deplored the American tendency to judge a work of fiction in terms of "significance" and "importance." "In literature," he declared, "'importance' is not important; only good writing is." He thought modernism a complete dead end, Virginia Woolf a crashing bore, *Ulysses* unreadable (although he admired Joyce's earlier stories). He said of contemporary poetry: "[It] is written to impress other poets or would-be poets, not to please the ordinary reader."

Like all sensible people, Sir Kingsley regarded "political correctness" with utter derision, and he cheerfully confessed to politically impure thoughts. He even wrote novels around such thoughts. The main character in *Stanley and the Women* (1985) wrestles with a question every man has pondered at some time or another: Are women all mad? Similarly, when asked in an interview whether he was anti-Semitic, Sir Kingsley replied: "Very, very mildly." Urged to elaborate, he added: "Well, when I'm watching the credits roll at the end of a TV program, I say to myself 'Oh, there's another one.'" Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.

"He never pretends to like anything," testified Amis's second wife. His tastes seem to have solidified early in his life, and did not change. Whole continents of human experience and endeavor were uninteresting to him: all of sport, most of the visual arts, religion (of which he was, however, respectful, describing himself as "an unwilling unbeliever"), modern languages, travel, opera, dance, science, nature. Fair enough; there is a kind of stubborn integrity in that. Yet I cannot help feeling that there is a lack of imagination, too—a failure to properly engage with life, possibly carried forward from the narrowness of his upper-lower-middle-class origins, or, as Mr. Jacobs suggests, from his cosseting as an only child. Doctor Johnson set himself to learning Italian at the age of 73; that, I think, is a more admirable spirit. But never mind:

Time, that is intolerant
Of the brave and innocent, . . .
Worships language and forgives
Everyone by whom it lives;
Pardons cowardice, conceit,
Lays its honours at their feet.

And though his tastes may have got stuck in the mud, Sir Kingsley cannot be accused of sloth. His output was huge—24 novels, 8 books of poetry, more books on drinking, education, Kipling, science fiction, as well as criticism, TV screenplays, even restaurant reviews. I hope the box for "occupation" on his passport said "writer," for Sir Kingsley Amis was a writer all through, a master and exemplar of his trade. □

Dreaming of Fidel

MARK FALCOFF

Havana Dreams: A Story of Cuba, by Wendy Gimbel (Knopf, 224 pp., $24)

THIS remarkably entertaining book—a work that combines literature, history, and biography—sets out to tell the story of a single Cuban family and the way that it was sundered and misshapen by the revolution and its progenitor, Fidel Castro. The principal figure is Natalia Fernández Revuelta, a stunning Creole beauty from Havana's high society. The supporting cast consists of her mother, Doña Naty; her daughter Alina; and Alina's daughter, Mumín. The story moves back and forth from the 1920s to the present, so that *Havana Dreams* is among other things a vivid and compelling social history of twentieth-century Cuba.

Like most of her coevals in Havana's upper-class circles in the 1940s, Natalia married young, and (also typically for that time and place) she married a man twice her age. Orlando was a prominent physician, and able to support her in grand style. The photographs in the book evoke a world long since vanished—an Art Deco villa, English furniture, plenty of servants, and an abundance of spare time that left a beautiful young wife searching for meaning, even after the birth of her first child, Nina. Moreover, as time went on Natalia found she had less and less in common with her husband.

Mrs. Gimbel offers an interesting contrast in the life of Natalia's mother, Doña Naty, who experienced a similar estrangement from her husband in the 1930s, which she resolved in a wholly conventional way: by burying herself in the lives of her children and other relatives, and by busying herself with charity projects. Natalia's restlessness took a different and more dangerous route—that of revolutionary politics. In the early 1950s the most glamorous figure in Cuban politics was a young lawyer by the name of Fidel Castro, who was serving a long jail sentence for attempting the violent overthrow of the dictator Fulgencio Batista. Natalia began a private correspondence with Castro which was initially political and philosophical, but ended up being embarrassingly personal. Excerpts are reproduced here; they reveal a Fidel Castro utterly unlike the one Cuba and the rest of the world has come to know—gentle, hesitant, groping for truths rather than proclaiming them with the aid of machete, gun, prison, and exile. Shortly after he was

Mr. Falcoff, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is at work on a study of U.S.-Cuban relations.

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amnestied in 1956, he and Natalia had a brief affair. The result was her second child, also a daughter, Alina. By the time she was born Castro had long since departed for Mexico. Three years later he returned to Cuba and led a successful guerrilla movement to power.

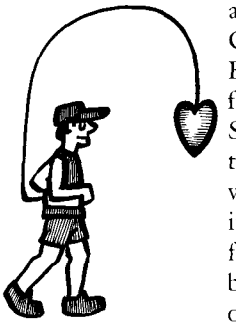
But his affair with Natalia was over. Not long after his return, she confessed to her husband that her second child was not his but that of the revolution's Maximum Leader. Orlando's response was to take Nina with him to live in the United States. Natalia was left in the big house in Havana with her daughter and her aging mother, to fend for herself in a world increasingly marked by political repression, economic scarcity, and emotional neglect. When Alina was ten years old, she learned that the vaguely familiar bearded man who appeared periodically at her birthday parties was her father. But by the time she reached the age of reason the dictator had little use for her; he went on to father children by other women, and sent for her but rarely. "In an allegory about Cuba," Mrs. Gimbel writes, "her father would represent Power; Alina, Damage—the fruit of the revolution."

Whereas Natalia quickly resigned herself to having made the wrong choices in life, Alina has always been a rebel. After many marriages she decided to leave for the United States, where she was shortly joined by her small daughter, Mumín. Thus when Castro visited New York City two years ago to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, he was forced to confront the embarrassing spectacle of his own daughter leading the demonstrators outside the Cuban mission on Lexington Avenue.

'No one in the island [has been] able to swerve far enough to avoid a collision with Fidel Castro.'

On the other hand, exile in the United States has not wholly resolved Alina's problems. Her attempt to re-establish relations with her legal father, Orlando, was not successful. Even worse, her half sister, Nina, who was raised far from the epicenter of Cuban emigration in Miami, is wholly American; she is married to an American and has only the vaguest memories of her Cuban childhood.

At the end of the day, then, the Fernández Revuelta family is a microcosm of the Cuban nation, divided by geography and politics, destroyed by an all-devouring presence that even now decides on matters large and small for a helpless and emotionally dependent population. As Mrs. Gimbel puts it with a remarkable economy of words, "no one in the island [has been] able to swerve far enough to avoid a collision with Fidel Castro."



Considering the amount of mythology put out by the Castro government about Batista's Cuba—a mythology eagerly grasped and retailed by our media and intellectual elites—Mrs. Gimbel's reconstruction of the Bad Old Days is balanced, fair, and remarkably complete. She informs us, for example, that "in the Fifties Havana was decadent—it's true—but it was [also] fast, racy, and fun." She covers her left flank by adding that before the revolution "nothing was available to the poor." She might have continued: And, nearly forty years later, nothing still is. □

Oh, Mama!

WENDY SHALIT

UNLIKE the classic for pregnant women, *What to Expect when You're Expecting*, *The Hip Mama Survival Guide* begins by warning of the perils of body piercing: "If you have a pierced belly button you should take the ring out, but you can leave a nipple ring in as long as it feels comfortable." Still, it's important to go to a "reputable studio" for your "maternity piercing needs." And remember, "While you don't have to remove clit or labia rings until you go into labor and can, technically, put them back in as soon as the baby is born, I'd consider taking them out early and kissing those piercings goodbye. There's going to be plenty of action down there without having to worry about additional metal and holes."

The Hip Mama Survival Guide: Advice from the Trenches on Pregnancy, Childbirth, Cool Names, Clueless Doctors, Potty Training, and Toddler Avengers, by Ariel Gore (Hyperion, 256 pp., $12.95)

This is not your typical pregnancy book. Its author is a former welfare mother; at 19, she gave birth to a baby girl. Today Ariel Gore is 26, and she is frequently introduced on TV talk shows as "conservative America's worst nightmare." She is also the founder and editor of *Hip Mama*, the quarterly parenting magazine "with attitude." Her *Survival Guide* elaborates on the kind of advice she gives in her magazine. This advice is sometimes less than stellar. "If you have a couple of beers one afternoon," she counsels her pregnant readers, "the best thing you can do is accept it and move on." But if you set all that aside, the rest of her humorous, eminently readable book offers an illuminating glimpse into the world of single motherhood.

The sort of counsel Miss Gore offers to unwed mothers is very telling. She discusses what to do if your child has been kidnapped by its father, when to sue for child support, how to look on the bright side of having your phone service cut off: "Having your phone disconnected usually cuts down on collection-agent harassment. Think: *Little House on the Prairie*." When strangers comment, "I just don't know how you do it," the best reply, Miss Gore teaches, is to smile sweetly and say, "With your tax dollars."

Next, spend those tax dollars well by inculcating the proper sensibility in your child: "Take your children to political events and protests," the author urges. "Teach your children about boycotts and observe them." And about that Baby Johnson's ad that reads, "Soon enough there'll be ballet lessons and boys at the front door," we are told,

Miss Shalit is a contributing editor at City Journal.

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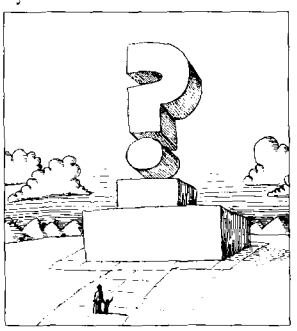
"Who's to say she won't be taking kick-boxing lessons or there won't be baby dykes at the door?"

To make it more likely that dykes will appear, Miss Gore introduces us to her friend "Lee," her "nonsexist child-rearing idol." Lee plays "The Stereotype Game" with her children, and so can we. This game, which challenges accepted notions of what girls and boys look like, culminates in a search for bearded ladies. Once they find one, Lee's son learns to say, "The idea that women can never have beards must be a stereotype." What a good little boy.

But much of this political posturing seems to be a defense mechanism, covering up the fact that single motherhood is, in truth, anything but hip. To Miss Gore's credit, she doesn't edit her friends' comments to fit her preconceived notions, and the stories she tells undermine her ideology. Her friend "Holly," for example, was left "penniless and homeless after her marriage ended. She and her four pre-schoolers turned to friends and family for help but finally ended up in a shelter." Then there is "Lelia": "When I asked my friend Lelia about working full time and being a mom, I sort of expected her to come out with some eloquent quote about struggle and balance and priorities and all of that. Instead she told me, 'It sucks. Contrary to popular belief, unless it's your true choice, unless you like your job and you want to have the career you have, it just doesn't work.'" When she asks Allison Abner, author of *Finding Our Way*, whether she "ever fe[lt] like there was a conflict between being a feminist and having this traditional family" the other woman replied, "The problem that I had always had with feminism, and I am a very strong feminist, is that among certain groups of people, women have been made to feel like they have to choose between marriage and feminism. Marriage doesn't compromise your feminism; it's whom you pick to marry that could." Most of the single moms in this book wish they were married.

Miss Gore closes her book by making fun of Newt Gingrich, but her own critique of the welfare system is not much different from his.

Miss Gore closes her book by making fun of Newt Gingrich, but her own critique of the welfare system and its perverse incentives is not much different from his. When she began to work, she noticed that it really didn't pay to do so: "Interestingly, social services felt rather possessive when it came to my little work-study check. For each dollar I earned, I lost a dollar in food stamps. After child care, I was actually paying about $3.50 an hour for the privilege of working." Yet when she had stayed home, she had felt demeaned: "At-Home Mom," Miss Gore remarks, is just a "label to make you feel bad."



One of the ironies of post-modern America is that upper-class married women, the ones who could afford to stay home with their children, often consider themselves too important to do so, while poorer single women who can't afford to stay home almost always embrace motherhood with an instinctive joy. A cynic would say this is because of the welfare dollars that come with having a child, but *The Hip Mama Survival Guide* proves this can't be the whole story. The simple pride in motherhood that Ariel Gore expresses has not been widely heard since before the time of Betty Friedan. After your baby is born, advises Miss Gore, "Invite a bunch of friends, sit with your baby in a really comfortable chair, and just hold court like you're the queen of the world. (You are.)"

But welfare or no, unwed motherhood is still one of the hardest occupations around. And here we can see, in inverse form, the obvious rationale behind the old stigma against single mothers: the more hip unwed motherhood, the more socially acceptable, the harder it becomes to shame men into taking responsibility for their children. Miss Gore's advice not to crank-call the baby's father and her whole chapter on nervous breakdowns say it all. Unwed "Mamahood" may be hip, but only because fatherhood is not. □

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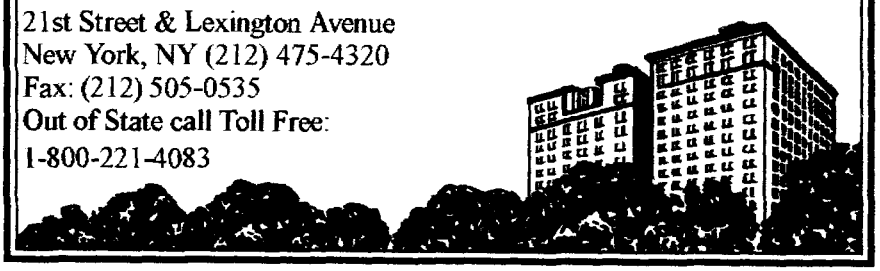

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MUSIC

Fair Lilith

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

A WOMAN is trying to smoke a cigarette but with inelegant results; the piercing in her tongue keeps getting in the way. Another woman parades by with a baby suckling at her bare left breast, as if to say: "See my baby! See my breast!" Behavior like that falls short of ladylike, and you will definitely come across the likes of it if you visit Lilith Fair. The migratory summer festival of pop, rock, and folk music by women attracts up to twenty thousand people per stop, more than three-quarters of them female. With 57 stops around the country, that's a lot of women. So the day Lilith set up its tents and booths under the trees at the Great Woods Center outside Boston was as good a day as any to ponder the fate of femininity.

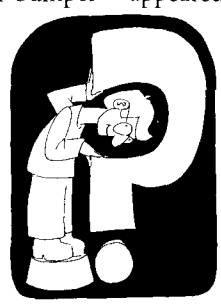
Other considerations might have already got you fretting on the same theme. The cover of that morning's *New York Times* showed a picture of Mrs. Clinton wearing an aggressively pink pantsuit and huge plastic Seventies-retro eyeglasses. She was smiling broadly and striding boldly out of a Sunday church service, clearly the dominant figure in the photograph, as to one side and slightly behind her the sheepishly grinning President himself walked. The accompanying article noted the First Lady's unshakable popularity. When this masculine female travels the country, women gather and urge her on with cries of "You go, girl!"

In politics the future of femininity looks bleak. So in the cultural arena the fact that a band of women rockers is going around under the title "Lilith Fair" might seem another reason to worry. But look again.

Presumably the event's impresario, folk/pop singer Sarah McLachlan, chose the name with all its sinister associations in mind. Lilith is a figure from Jewish demonology. The Bible has just a single reference to her, a cryptic one in Isaiah that pictures her lounging in the ruins of ungodly cities at the Day of Judgment (34:14). Other traditional literature explains that she was Adam's first wife, who on egalitarian grounds refused to submit herself sexually to the first man and so was banished from Eden. A couple of millennia later, modern feminists embraced the predecessor of Eve as a mascot. Her fans range from the editors of an obnoxious Jewish feminist magazine called *Lilith*, to neopagans (devotees maintain numerous Internet sites), to the scriptwriters on the television sitcom *Cheers,* who called Dr. Frasier Crane's first wife "Lilith."

If you ignored Victims Row, you saw a lot of femininity at Lilith Fair.

Since Lilith Fair hit the road last summer, it has attracted gobs of media attention, most of which has emphasized the left-feminism of the women who run a lot of the booths and tents. At Great Woods a sort of Victims Row of booths paid tribute to causes like RAINN (Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network) and Massachusetts NARAL (the pro-abortion outfit). One booth sold ceramic "pocket goddesses" ("She comes with her own bag to protect her. Take her home and never be alone"). Another specialized in bumper stickers with slogans like "I believe in dragons, good men, and other fantasy creatures" and "My goddess gave birth to your god."



And yet. The next day a review in the *Boston Globe* reported that the bumper-sticker vendor was doing a "brisk" business, but that's not what I saw. I saw women crowding around a booth where you could get temporary henna "tattoos" in a variety of delicate and lovely arabesque designs, and another where you could have your hair brushed into an odd but cute flip. By comparison the anti–domestic-violence and pro-abortion booths were deserted.

In fact, walking around awhile, you got the definite impression that for many women these left-wing causes merely provide an occasion to exclude men, as Lilith more or less does, and celebrate, of all things, femininity.

After all, femininity, like masculinity, flourishes in a single-sex environment. (The co-ed military proves the point.) If you ignored Victims Row, you saw a lot of femininity at Lilith Fair. In older, better times, modesty of dress was a familiar signal of womanliness. That ideal has waned but it hasn't disappeared. The crowd at Lilith included lots of teens and twentysomethings who have developed an idiosyncratic yet pronounced style of modesty. Many of them wore baggy shorts and shapeless hooded windbreakers or sweatshirts (it was cool for August), which hide the shape of the body; others wore tie-dyed cotton Nepalese hippie dresses, ankle-length, which do the same thing but quite fetchingly. Hippie dresses were everywhere.

While femininity is difficult to define, it also resembles masculinity in that you know it when you see it. It has to do with a softness, a certain girlish exuberance—the opposite of the hardness and cynicism associated with female high style in big cities like New York and Washington. By this standard the performers at Lilith were remarkably feminine.

A day at Lilith is 7 hours long, with 11 different acts on 3 stages, and so it's hazardous to generalize. But every singer I watched had the personal qualities that any traditional-minded father would be delighted to see in his daughter. Not least the two performers who appeared last, as Lilith's highlights: Natalie Merchant and Sarah McLachlan.

Miss Merchant, who used to sing in a fun if rather PC band called 10,000 Maniacs, struck out on her own a few years ago. Her current songs have to do with apolitical topics like a miracle cure ("Wonder") or a fifty-year marriage ("Beloved Wife"). She has feminine charisma that you can fully appreciate only by seeing her perform live. At first her hair was tied back in an adorable bun, but then she untied it and let it fall down around her shoulders in such a way that all the (not many) men

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in the audience were united in a collective sigh of longing. Later, when a big swing descended from above, she climbed onto it and swung for a while like a little girl. There's a charmingly awkward quality about her, especially when she dances; she could lose a few pounds, but you wouldn't want her to.

With her blond hair cut short, Miss McLachlan is a pixie, a sprite. She sings about "relationships," and her music happens to be terrific, mainly ballads of lost love. When the opening chords of "Sweet Surrender" sounded, the effect was thrilling, and when she sang "Witness" this reporter against his own will found himself swaying to the music. The effect is heartbreakingly sweet. Miss McLachlan left the stage with a girlishly energetic little skip.

If you compare Lilith to male-dominated rock events such as Lollapalooza, the most startling thing about it is how civilized Lilith is. One finds no mosh pit, no pushing or shoving at all. Those in attendance speak quietly. They sit at attention or rise to their feet in an orderly wave when a favorite song is played. Everything is neat and in order, so that you feel bad about dropping peanut shells to the concrete floor of the main pavilion. There was something unaccountably refreshing about the whole affair, like opening a window after a summer rainstorm when you have been cooped up in an air-conditioned room.

If only more of contemporary life were like Lilith Fair. If only there were more women who embodied the femininity of Natalie Merchant or Sarah McLachlan.

No, the model of femininity on display is not a classical one; it includes more pierced lips, noses, and tongues than you would choose to see if you had your choice. But these days, when it comes to masculinity or femininity in unexpected places, you shouldn't be stingy with appreciation if it's called for. Somewhere the demon Lilith is lounging around and gnashing her teeth at this blatant abuse of her bad name. □

FILM

Matters of Love and Hate

JOHN SIMON

THE writer-director Neil LaBute, whose *In the Company of Men* was admired by many and despised by me, has come up with his second effort, ***Your Friends & Neighbors***. The former, which won awards at Sundance (always a bad sign) and from the New York Film Critics Circle, concerned a compact between two men to avenge themselves on women by seducing and destroying a sweet, blind office worker. It was the kind of movie only a fundamentally unpleasant person could have concocted; it shed no light and plumbed, except in quality, no depth.

Your Friends & Neighbors, which does not have the home-movie look of its predecessor, is otherwise an equally nasty piece of work, to whose cheapness even the characters' rhyming names attest. Barry, Cary, and Jerry are best friends. Barry is married to Mary; Jerry is living with Terri; Cary screws, or tries to, everything in skirts. They live in an anonymous city, have (except for Jerry, a drama prof, and Cary, a gynecologist) unspecified jobs, and exist only as pawns for LaBute's mean-spirited games.

There is also a young woman, Cheri, some sort of art-gallery assistant. At one time or another, all the other characters come and stare at a photograph, not shown to us, in the gallery. Accosted by Cheri, they each conduct the identical dialogue with her, often pointing toward seduction. But an affair develops only with Terri. Why?

Neil LaBute's second film is as cheap and nasty as his first.

Because Jerry talks a lot during sex, which infuriates Terri. An excellent reason for her to turn lesbian, you'll agree. What further encourages her in that direction is the discovery that Jerry and Mary had a go at it—unsuccessfully, but

(Continues on page 73)

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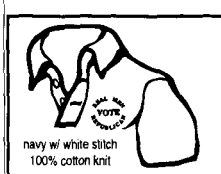

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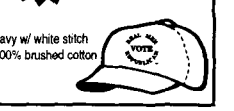

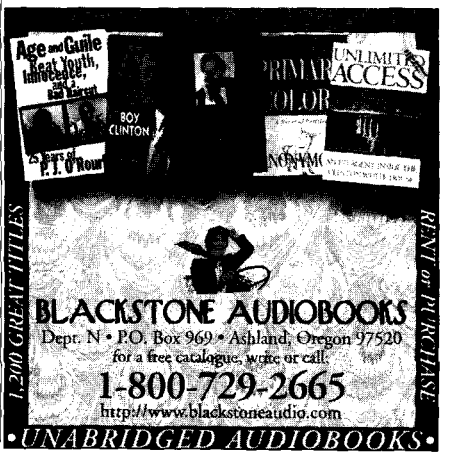

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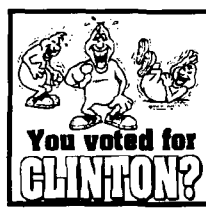

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SIMON

(Continued from page 71)

she doesn't know that. Barry is more or less impotent, and Jerry had scribbled a sexual overture to Mary in a lent volume of Camus, which Mary couldn't resist and Terri later stumbled onto. Mary breaks with both Jerry and Barry, and gets involved with Cary, a brute whose advances only Cheri, a lesbian, can withstand.

But Cheri is having problems with Terri because Cheri, also, talks too much, wanting to know which part of her lovemaking Terri enjoys most, something Terri doesn't wish to go into, especially not in the supermarket aisle where their heated altercation takes place. Other painful scenes erupt in a hotel room successively occupied by Jerry with Mary, and Mary with Barry—don't ask me to explain. Just about everyone beds everyone else, but always with dismal results, attesting to LaBute's high moral purpose.

As if this weren't enough, nearly everyone speaks in incomplete sentences, particularly Jerry, the professor, who is to blithering what Michael Jordan is to basketball. Terri is more coherent but almost always unpleasant, and Cary speaks only about sex, loathsomely. The sexual roundelay may derive—remotely—from Arthur Schnitzler's *Reigen*, but LaBute's drivel is light years away from Schnitzler's genius.

The one sympathetic character is Mary—not in the writing, but in the acting of the enormously charming, lovely, and gifted Amy Brenneman, whose infrequent casting can be chalked up to the indifference of the current cinema to so appealingly wholesome an actress. At the opposite extreme is the Terri of Catherine Keener: unprepossessing way beyond even the call of her role. Jason Patric, looking like a younger, macho Joel Grey, carries Cary to heights of obnoxiousness you wouldn't think scalable without crampons. Aaron Eckhart, the vile seducer of LaBute's previous film, is now the overweight and inept Barry, and at least proves he has some acting range. As Cheri, the formerly sexy Natassja Kinski looks so unlike her old self that I did not even recognize her.

The nadir, however, is the Jerry of Ben Stiller. Stiller, whose physical repellence is matched only by his histrionic nullity, is in movies because he is the son of the well-known comedy couple Stiller and Meara. For all-around distastefulness he is equaled only by Nicolas Cage, in movies because he is the nephew of Francis Ford Coppola. (You can see Cage now in Brian De Palma's nonsensical and appalling *Snake Eyes*, with which I shall not detain you.)

Your Friends & Neighbors has vivid cinematography by Nancy Schreiber; it is not her fault that this always indoor film has a deliberately claustrophobic feel, and that sequences in an antiquarian bookshop are annoyingly souped up (Steadicam in excelsis), even as the ones in the art gallery are artily static. The score is mostly songs by Metallica, performed by Apocalyptica, and sounding like Emetica. For prestige, a bit of Schubert and Dvořák chamber music is thrown in, but in versions by Killer Tracks which their composers would be hard put to recognize.

■ Young Jesse Peretz's debut feature (he has experience in music videos and shorts), ***First Love, Last Rites***, is based on a short story by Ian McEwan. Right off, it suffers from the expansion of 10 pages to 93 minutes of film, and from the transposition from a grubby British harbor-town locale to the sun-drenched bayous of Louisiana. How many times can we watch these idyllic young lovers having delirious intercourse while listening to pop records, or growing lovey-dovey over shared cartons of Chinese food? And can we believe a Brooklyn youth transplanted to the bayou starting an ill-fated eel-fishing venture with his girlfriend's father? This kind of stretching might just barely work for someone else; for Peretz and his scenarist, David Ryan, it snaps back into their faces.

Joey (Giovanni Ribisi) and Sissel (Natasha Gregson Wagner) are in the throes of their first affair—nonstop sex play in their pink one-room shack on stilts. For a very long time it looks as if everything else, even the Chinese food Sissel adores, might be squeezed out of the picture. Eventually other elements do impinge: hunting and fishing with Sissel's father, who is having serious trouble with his wife, and noisy irruptions by Adrian, Sissel's bratty kid brother, bent on sabotaging his sister's sex.

Further, a rat, noisily gnawing away inside the cabin's walls and eliciting symbolic fantasies in artily blurred images, as young love, for reasons equally blurry, starts turning sour. Pretty soon that aphrodisiac victrola is being kicked into silent submission by Joey, and Sissel boils her records into free-form blobs. Joey gets more involved with the eel traps, and Sissel gets a menial but liberating job at a sugar refinery. When Joey bludgeons the rat to death, the sweetly bucolic love affair comes unglued. Even his gallant offer, "We can buy new records, but you must promise not to boil them," falls on deaf ears. Perhaps the deepest penetration of Sissel's psyche occurs when Joey exclaims, "You're f—ing loopy sometimes, you know that?"

Tom Richmond's cinematography is suitably sensuous, and from Natasha Gregson Wagner we get a delectable young face and body, and a rather more winning performance than the script would seem to allow. Giovanni Ribisi (the medic in *Saving Private Ryan*) is a bit nerdy, but credible enough when he reluctantly dredges up stories from his Brooklyn childhood, or hangs out with the local fishermen who acts as a comic geek chorus. Robert John Burke is solid as the father, and Eli Marienthal a proper nuisance as little Adrian. But the film, lurching between desperate symbolism and amiable vacuity, goes nowhere. Slowly. □

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

He's Guilty Or I Am Blind

NEW YORK, AUGUST 11

It is beginning to sound as if every Friend of Bill had been individually coached, the man on the street, the representative in Congress, the commentator on network TV. Coached to say: What can all the fuss be about, since after all we're just talking about another case of consensual sex? A few comments.

1. Consensual sex implies a relationship between equals, roughly described. Two college students, is a workaday example. When one party is an instructor, let alone a professor, the view of the matter is progressively altered. It is in acknowledgment of this graduated difference in age, station, and responsibility that conventions arise, e.g., against sex by professors with students, and regulations get enacted, e.g., against sex between officers and enlisted personnel.

2. We reach the highest position in the land, President of the United States. And the occupant is here dealing with the lowest position in federal employment—the so-called intern, exchanging a year's service in return for a close-in look at the lives of federal officials who have power and exercise authority. We can readily assume that in the situation in the Oval Office in 1995, Miss Lewinsky was the succubus—but Mr. Clinton wasn't asleep. In the vernacular, she was the groupie who, to express her fascination, awe, devotion, disposition to give what she could, even as if she were given an opportunity to do so by a Rolling Stone, parted her lips, submissively, obediently, lovingly.

Is that really "consensual" sex? If the young wench throws herself into the arms of the Prince, and he proceeds concupiscently, is it not correct to say that he has taken advantage of her? The Prince sets out in the world knowing that there are virgins by the trainload who would willingly spend the night with him. If he engages them, one after another, have we an exercise in serial consensual sex?

3. What has happened to the very concept of the "dirty old man"? That was the term used for generations to describe men who, whether endowed by office, money, wiles, whatever, lured young women into their house (hotel, car, canoe) to have sex. Yes, it was always proper to distinguish between rape and submissive sex. But whichever it was, the incubus was still a dirty old man. What is it that makes someone less than a dirty old man because he is also President of the United States? Aren't the arguments pretty appealing that the more august the station of the man, the more offensive his misbehavior?

4. We hear also from the chorus that the responsibility of the male in the current situation is to "guard" against the embarrassment of his wife and his daughter. We move quickly across the obvious, which is that the best way to avoid embarrassing Hillary and Chelsea is by not screwing the intern to begin with. But having done so, to whom is the primary obligation? If Clinton's preferred form of sexual contact had been such that Monica had been impregnated, and if she had resolved to carry the child, then Clinton, the father, would have been responsible for providing for the child's care and feeding. In royal days, the child would have been made a count, or whatever. Absent impregnation, isn't it the responsibility of the senior party to apologize convincingly to the groupie? And what kind of solicitude is taken for wife and child when the outcome of an act of corruption becomes grist for the mills of every comedian in the world? If thought is given exclusively to the faculty for leadership in the President of the United States, one wonders at the leadership involved in turning incontinent carnality into a national mess which involves the prospective embarrassment of every Democratic official so loyal, and so reckless, as to have believed him when he reported "to the American people" his innocence of the charge.

5. Because factual innocence is as likely as the cow jumping over the moon. Even Mr. Clinton's ardent backers are showing wariness here, as when the cosmopolitan former mayor of New York Ed Koch, while backing Clinton lustily over the radio, admitted that he didn't think the President had been telling the truth. Of course not, and with respect to the doubters, two things should be stressed. The first, that the excuse of a whatthehell consensual episode doesn't clear the air. The second, that the facts at hand require honest evaluation. If it is established that the whole apparatus of fact-gathering has been mistaken, and Bill Clinton is innocent of the affair with Monica Lewinsky, I will donate a year's income from this column to the Lighthouse for the Blind, and enroll as a member. □

"I hope you like it. It's a stimulus package."

Foul Play

NEW YORK, AUGUST 18

The evidence is that David Kendall and William Clinton think together in absolute pitch. In speaking of Mr. Kendall I pause parenthetically to say he is a personal friend and I am one of his clients. But when he left the White House on Monday one knew instantly that the polemical dog would rule the roost that evening. Did we, in a one-minute speech, really need to be reminded, for the one-millionth time, that the investigation had cost forty million dollars? For one thing, forty million dollars as a federal expense is not all that big a deal, about the price of one torpedo. But more pointedly, what would the cost of the investigation have been if Mr. Kendall's client had cooperated and told the truth about matters under investigation? A hundred dollars? That the exploration began with an oddball financial deal in Little Rock is as irrelevant as that the big oil strike in East Texas began as an exploration for drinking water. One thing led to another. If an investigation of a case of double parking leads you to a serial murderer, should we regret that the curiosity was sparked?

We could tell, from Mr. Kendall's truculent mini-statement, that Mr. Clinton would do no more than another version of it. "Directions to Speechwriters: Compose something

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that leaves the impression that, yes, man is born to sin, but what's special about this business is that the so-called investigators are interested in my private life, and that life belongs to me and Hillary and Chelsea, and we must get on with the great promises of America" blah blah. A few minutes before the speech began, Jeff Greenfield, presiding over CNN's coverage, opined that after the speech was over, the President's ratings would rise.

"Why?" he was asked.

Because they always rise, after a presidential speech. Mr. Greenfield could think of no exception.

It requires effort to resist demagogic appeal, but the effort is worth it, and it hinges on the argument that we are intruding on Mr. Clinton's private life.

Anything that is private is rendered semi-public or public if it catches a public hook. How much money you have is your business, unless you want to build a house and take out a mortgage. Then it is also the business of the lending organization. If you patronize a speakeasy and a bust is ordered and your name is taken, your private right to consume liquor becomes the stuff of a public datum. If you lie about it you step through the window of privacy into the public street. If you insinuate to the arresting officer that better days are in store for him if he just forgets about it, you are obstructing justice and suborning perjury and all that stuff. There is no way, if reflection is given to the question, to shrug it off with: All he wanted was just a little drink.

What is absolutely private and should always remain so is the way in which Mr. Clinton handled his problem when speaking to his wife and child. On that subject we should all be silent. But if the aggressor turns to us and holds *us* responsible for difficulties he has in communicating with wife and child, we are entitled to say to him, You are a coward and a disreputable human being.

At which point you stop and ask: Is this an aberrant position? With some relief one finds the morning column from Andy Rooney. "One of the things I know about myself," he begins, "is that I am quite average and normal. My reaction to things is usually the same reaction everyone else has. If I want to know what people think, I think about what I'm thinking."

And he concludes the column, "It's difficult to look at him without thinking about [what he did]. And it's something I don't want to think about. If my brain was my hands, I'd go run it under a faucet." What we need now is a faucet big enough to relieve the entire population, even if it costs another forty million dollars. □

Shoot-Out In California

NEW YORK, AUGUST 14

The general mess created by our drug laws has reached a tropical low in Los Angeles, where the storm center gathers over the head of Peter McWilliams.

Here is the political background:

—In November 1996, the California voters endorsed a plebiscite (Proposition 215) which authorizes the purchase of marijuana by any Californian with a doctor's prescription. Doctors are supposed to write out that prescription only when cannabis provides unique relief. That law conflicted with federal statutes that make the smoking of marijuana a crime at any time, including—to observe the language—on your deathbed. The question immediately arose: What do we do about these conflicting jurisdictions? Everybody waited for everybody else to act. The most that Attorney General Dan Lungren would do (he is running for governor) was promise to observe the new law "minimally."

But of course the reciprocal gears of justice do not here interlock glibly. The marijuana lobby in California is sincerely interested in making the weed available to the sick, who are said to profit greatly from it. But the marijuana lobby in California is also sincerely interested in anybody's getting marijuana who wants marijuana, and the political story here took flesh and blood in Peter McWiliams.

—McWilliams is a middle-aged literary man-about-town. He has written thirty books that range in concern from poetry to love to computers to moral anarchy. He is a self-described libertarian who believes that no law should be passed which gets in the way of anybody's doing anything he wants to do, provided it doesn't hurt somebody else; and that such laws as are on the books that conflict with libertarian doctrine should be treated only with just so much respect as is necessary to keep you out of jail.

On July 23, the Feds concluded that McWilliams and partners were not sufficiently complying with the law. McWilliams, who has always appreciated the lighter side of life and thought, had lent money from his tiny publishing firm to an entrepreneur who used it to nurture four thousand marijuana plants. Why? Well, if a doctor is entitled under the law to prescribe marijuana, then he has to get it somewhere, does he not? Parthenogenesis won't give you fresh supplies of marijuana, even in California.

So the Feds announced themselves at six in the morning, with handcuffs, and took away not only McWilliams but also his computer with all its records. They demanded bail of $250,000. His lawyer pleaded against the draconian extreme of the bail demanded. The defense was perfectly glad to give up Peter's passport. Did anybody really think he would not show up at his trial?

Pressures of another kind were inflicted. McWilliams has AIDS and also a form of lymphoma. The treatment prescribed by his doctor is complex and delicately balanced and is required six times every day. The failure of the prison authorities to give him the doses as called for has resulted in frequent nausea, no trivial complaint given that in a debilitated condition, those who suffer from that combination of maladies McWilliams suffers from run the risk of contracting a terminal case of tuberculosis.

—The meltdown is therefore now scheduled. A few months from now, McWilliams and his fellow defendants will insist that they were not guilty of any criminal intent. No money changed hands. True, McWilliams did at one point pass off the wisecrack that he wished to become the "Bill Gates of medical marijuana." But you don't go to prison for making wild statements about a fantasy life, any more than Bill Clinton goes to prison for making wild statements about celibate behavior.

But in ruling on McWilliams *v.* the United States, prosecutors are going to have to face head-on the California argument. At one level, California argues the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, which prohibit federal activity in areas reserved to the states under the Constitution. That defense will be half-hearted, because the justice establishment in California never liked Proposition 215, and doesn't like McWilliams, who is an enthusiast for marijuana, which he proclaims (in publications protected by the First Amendment) as suitable to give relief for most adult aches and pains.

It will be a very interesting trial, and it is not unlikely that many institutions will weigh in with amici curiae pleading their own judgments of law, conflicts, drugs, and liberty. Meanwhile, one hopes that Peter McWilliams, something of a bird of paradise, is left alone to take proper care of himself. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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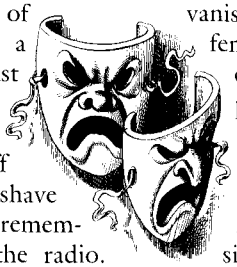
THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

ZZZZT! Foiled again. Today is Testimony Eve and my deadline is the day after Testimony. I can't very well write about what hasn't happened yet, so I'll tell you about the two weeks I've spent glued to the TV.

Be forewarned: the phrase "Testimony Eve" is all wrong. An "eve" is calm and still, with that quieter-than-quiet hush that tells us it's snowing even before we look out the window. I can't look out my windows because the air-conditioners are in the way, and one of them has started making a raspy squawk that sounds just like Bay Buchanan.



Watching the talking heads on CNBC took ten years off my life, a dangerously close shave for someone old enough to remember *Information Please* on the radio. My favorite panelists were Clifton Fadiman, whose name tickled me, and Cornelia Otis Skinner, whose name fascinated me. I was too young to follow the questions and answers but what impressed me then and still sticks in my mind were the easy chuckles and relaxed freemasonry of the polished, the cultivated, and the learned among us. It was a purely instinctual reaction on my part: they seemed to be having a good time, so I did, too.

Bay Buchanan's *Equal Time* also triggers an instinctual reaction in me: I want to watch it through spread fingers like a queasy juror looking at autopsy photos. The morbid streak in human nature explains why the show has lasted as long as it has: we tune in to see how much worse it can get.

No other show on television has been rerigged so often. Conceived as *Crossfire* for girls, its original hosts were Mary Matalin on the right and Jane Wallace on the left, but Wallace laughed constantly and Matalin did not open her mouth wide enough to be understood, much less yell at anybody; Edgar Bergen moved his lips more.

Bay Buchanan took over on the right but her tortuous efforts to imitate her brother without being unfeminine doomed the format to the psychological ambidexterity of the female condition, making it seem more like one of early feminism's assertiveness-training films about coping with recalcitrant home repairmen.

The left-wing chair has seen such a rapid turnover that it now has been held by just about everybody. The reason is not hard to guess. Many a husband has vanished without a trace when a female voice became intolerable, a career move described in the old punchline, "He went out to buy a newspaper and never came back." The producers of *Equal Time* inadvertently discovered how to get rid of liberal women: sit them next to Braying Bay until they run away and join the ladies auxiliary of the French Foreign Legion.

Then there are the guests. Tony Blankley, who keeps his mouth open in readiness while waiting to get a word in edgewise, swishing his tongue around in limbering-up exercises clearly visible to the viewer. Susan Estrich, who cackles to herself off-camera and nearly demolishes the set with her flailing arms. Joe Conason with all the aplomb of an ax murderer. Michael Isikoff, whose open collar and askew tie project that air of danger treasured by English majors who carry a razor to cut the pages of foreign paperbacks. Jonah "My Mom Says" Goldberg, and Mandy Grunwald, hunched and tragic, the gypsy in every opera, trying to make her whispery deathbed hexes heard over Bay's hoarse screams of "Hold on! Let her finish!"

After *Equal Time* I watched *Hardball*, where the leisurely atmosphere of pensive reflection is reminiscent of the *Titanic* at 2:20 A.M. The machine-gun nest that Chris Matthews calls a mouth is the reason why so many people who loathe Geraldo Rivera watch his show anyway: it comes on after *Hardball* and we're too wrung out to move.

Testimony Eve and Testimony Day have now passed but Post-Testimony will usher in another eight months of special reports, extended editions, and "Lemme finish!" I'll watch them because I have to, but what I really would enjoy is hearing Bill Clinton discussed on a revived *Information Please*. The networks aren't interested so I'll have to produce it myself. Here goes:

We should not limit our comparisons of Bill Clinton to history's male rogues, for in behavior and turn of mind he most resembles Caroline of Brunswick, who married the Prince of Wales, later George IV, in 1796.

That Caroline was oversexed from earliest girlhood is evident from her family's efforts to control stud eruptions. According to one source: "They say her passions are so strong that when she dances, a governess must follow behind to prevent her from indecent conversations."

THREE weeks after their marriage the royal couple separated, permitting Caroline free rein for her compulsive bawdiness. She aroused a naval attaché under the table with her foot, displayed a pair of wind-up dolls that simulated coitus, and had unconsummated intimate contact with future prime minister George Canning. Being still married, and aware that adultery against the Crown was treason, Caroline protected her loophole.

When later she moved to Italy and had full-fledged affairs, British consuls took charge of the stud eruptions and kept London informed of her lovers, but soon there were so many that one envoy gave up and reported: "I don't know who is rogering the Princess now."

When George became King in 1820 he warned her that if she returned to England and insisted on being crowned Queen she would be tried for adultery in the House of Lords, but Caroline the hair-splitter had a ready answer. English law defined an adulteress as the accomplice of an adulterer, but foreigners could not commit treason against England; thus, since all her lovers were Italian, she was innocent.

Never one to go quietly, she returned to England and pounded on the doors of Westminster Abbey during George's coronation, but they would not let her in. Shamed at last, she died three weeks later.

Max Beerbohm summed her up in words that will do for Bill Clinton's legacy: "Fate wrote her a most tremendous tragedy, but she played it in tights." □

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